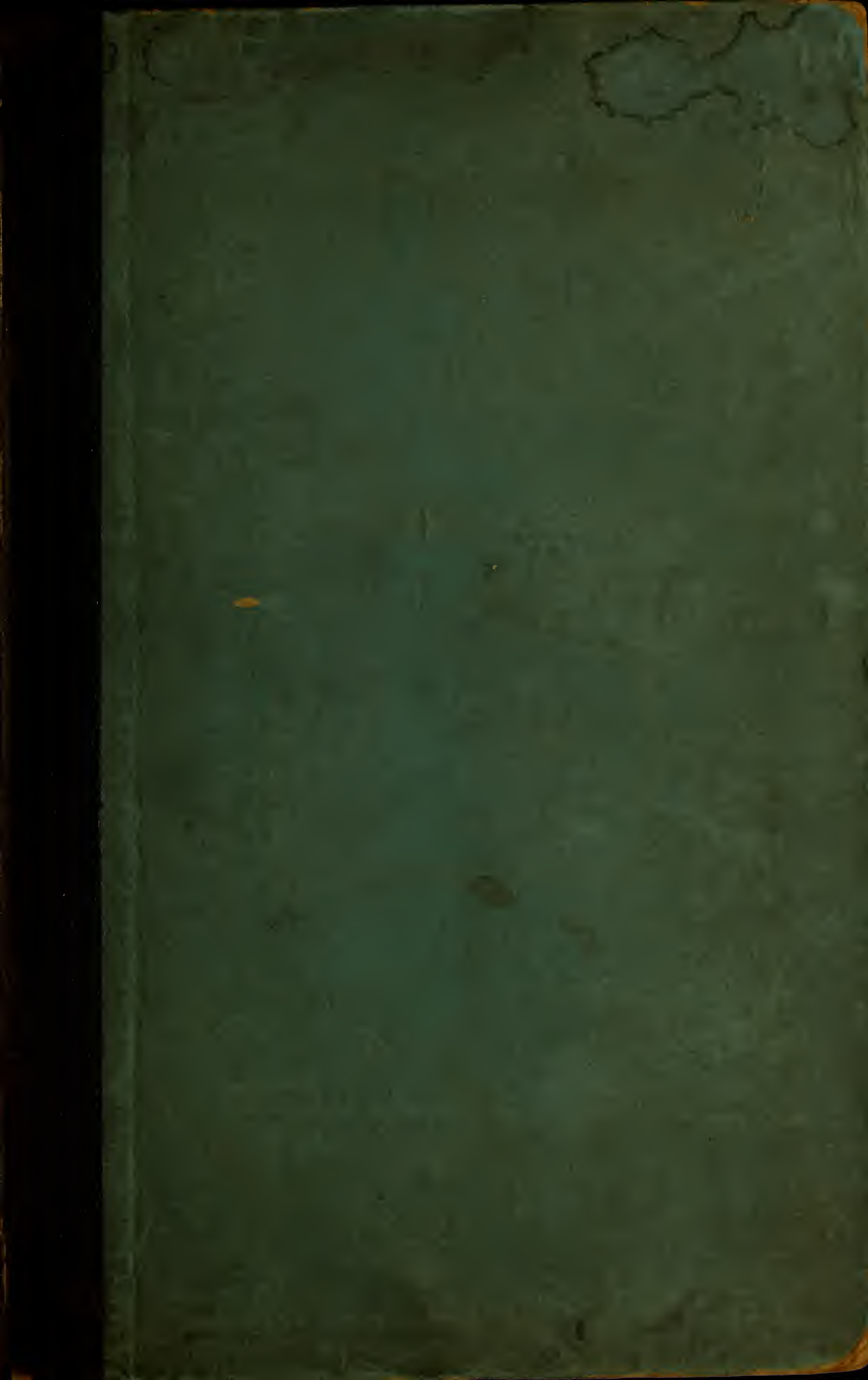






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THE
NON-SLAVEHOLDER.

"WHOSO GIVES THE MOTIVE MAKES HIS BROTHER'S SIN HIS OWN."

EDITED BY
WILLIAM J. ALLINSON.

NEW SERIES--VOLUME FIRST.

PHILADELPHIA:
PUBLISHED BY GEORGE W. TAYLOR,
NORTH WEST CORNER FIFTH AND CHERRY STS.

1853.

The Quaker of the Olden Time.

BY JOHN GREENLEAF WHITTIER.

The Quaker of the olden time!—
How calm and firm and true,
Unspotted by its wrong and crime
He walked the dark earth through!

The lust of power, the love of gain,
The thousand lures of sin
Around him, had no power to stain
The purity within.

With that deep insight, which detects
All great things in the small,
And knows how each man's life affects
The spiritual life of all,

He walked by faith and not by sight,
By love and not by law;
The presence of the wrong or right,
He rather felt than saw.

He felt that wrong with wrong partakes,
That nothing stands alone,
That whoso gives the motive, makes
His brother's sin his own.

And, pausing not for doubtful choice
Of evils great or small,
He listened to that inward voice
Which called away from all.

Oh! Spirit of that early day,
So pure and strong and true,
Be with us in the narrow way
Our faithful fathers knew.

Give strength the evil to forsake,
The cross of Truth to bear,
And love and reverent fear to make
Our daily lives a prayer!

JOHN RODGERS, PRINTER,

BURLINGTON, N. J.

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ERRATUM.

In a part of the edition of No. 1, on page 8, Judge Jay is made to declare Mary Murray's work "*comparative-ly*" instead of "*incomparably*" the best compendium of American History he had ever met with.

Page 59, 4th line of essay on Slave Produce, &c., for *privacy* read *piracy*.

In the poem on page 64, the 18th and 19th lines should read thus—

Whose streams in crystalline clearness roll,
With healing fraught for the sin-sick soul.

Page 86—second line of Literary Notices, for "*Wilson Bugress*" read "*Wilson Burgess*."

Page 87,—5th line from the foot, for "*at all*" read "*all at*."

Page 88—At the end of 8th line in poem by Upham for "*around*" read "*round*."

THE NON-SLAVEHOLDER.

"Whoso gives the motive, makes his brother's sin his own."

VOL. I.—NEW SERIES.]

PHILADELPHIA, FIRST MONTH, 1853.

[No. 1.

WILLIAM J. ALLINSON, EDITOR.

PUBLISHED MONTHLY

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North West Corner of Fifth and Cherry Streets,
PHILADELPHIA.

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PROSPECTUS.

The NON-SLAVEHOLDER has been suspended for two years, and the class of community among whom it circulated has sustained a loss. A strong desire for its resumption has been evinced by numbers, on both sides of the Atlantic, and the present Editor finds himself in an unsought position, which he would by no means consent to occupy, did he not hope thereby to be of some service to his fellow-men, and to the cause of Truth.

As the present is a specimen number, it will, in some degree, exhibit the intended character of our journal. Our object and principles are identical with those so well set forth in the first number of the former series, and maintained with so much ability and in so christian a spirit throughout the five years of its course. Primarily, we aim at bearing a temperate but most uncompromising testimony against Slavery, and, in doing so, to enforce the fine idea embodied in our motto.

The thralldom of INTemperance, the tyranny of PARTY, the system of WAR, and the DEATH PENALTY, ("the crime of law") shall be considered legitimate objects of attack;—whilst we shall be willing to diversify our pages, so far as our space will admit, with flowers of literature, to relieve, for a moment,

the eye of the pained and overtaxed moralist, when his

"Soul is sick with every day's report
Of wrong and outrage."

We enter upon our new and unexpected engagement with diffidence, yet with a degree of confidence.

The NON-SLAVEHOLDER, is to be issued on the first Fourth day in each month, at the terms stated at the head of this page. When taken in clubs of eight, the price (25 cents per annum) will be little more than nominal. It will be cheaper to the subscriber than to the Editor and Proprietor. The cash system forms an essential part of our arrangements, and payments must invariably be made in advance. Our friends are requested to forward their subscriptions, in current funds, post paid, with explicit statements of each subscriber's Post Office address, to the Publisher, George W. Taylor, N. W. cor. Cherry & Fifth Sts., Philadelphia. Editors disposed to exchange will direct to "*Non-Slaveholder, Burlington, New Jersey.*"

WHO ARE THE SLAVEHOLDERS?

A MORAL DRAWN FROM "UNCLE TOM'S CABIN,"

Let us fancy ourselves in a pleasant country place, named Fernbrake, situated in one of England's midland counties. It is a village of the genuine old English stamp; in other words, a collection of houses of all shapes, sizes and conditions, not set in close rank and file, but standing as though dropped at random from the clouds into a region of orchards, gardens and rickyards; the roads between them so delightfully irregular as to remind one of "Knickerbocker's History of New York," the streets of which city, he says, were planned by the cows making a track among the bushes, and the early inhabitants building houses by the side of it.

The western end of this long rambling place abuts upon an extensive plain, and the last house in the village is the residence of the Stanfields, the worthy family with whom we

have to do. The building is one of those "homesteads warm and low," which give such an air of comfort to an English landscape. It is built in the Elizabethan farm-house style, with mullioned casements and pointed gables. The house fronts southward into a garden, in which ornament and utility are pleasingly combined. The windows are fringed with jessamines and Chinese roses, and the old porch is overhung by a magnificent vine which presents its purple clusters most temptingly. Behind the building, and at a respectful distance, is the farm-yard, flanked by a noble array of corn-ricks, the harvest being just completed. Our business, however, is within, and the time of our visit is the evening, soon after the tea-things have been dismissed. We have gained admission to the antique sitting room, with its wainscot panelling and huge carved mantelpiece. Mrs. Stanfield is one of those sensible people that like to make themselves and others comfortable; and, as the evenings are cool, she has a moderate fire in the grate, just sufficient to diffuse a genial glow through the apartment. The master of the mansion sits ensconced in his arm-chair; the labors of the day concluded, he is prepared to enjoy himself with his family, which consists of half a dozen happy-faced children, between the ages of four and fourteen, who, with their mother, are seated at a round table, occupied with various light handicrafts and amusements. For several successive evenings they had spent the hour after tea in listening to that beautiful and affecting tale, "Uncle Tom's Cabin," read aloud by the elder children. Where is the Christian family that could stand the brunt of such an onset? Mrs. Stowe had swayed their minds as though she played upon a musical instrument. They had laughed and wept, despaired and exulted, melted into tenderness, and burned with indignation, as the narrative proceeded. They had trembled with Eliza in her elopement with her doomed child; laughed at Sam's devices for retarding the pursuit of the fugitives; sympathised with Aunt Chloe when her "old man" was torn from her, and cried "shame!" at the brutal Haley as he put the fetters upon Uncle Tom. They had been delighted with Tom's good fortune at New Orleans, and enraptured with little Eva his guardian angel. They had admired the dashing amiability of St. Clare, while they scouted the heartless selfishness of his wife. They had marvelled at the military tactics of "friend Phineas," and rejoiced at the downfall of Tom Loker. They had smiled at the hobgoblinry of Topsy, and shuddered at poor Prue's horrid death. They had wept by the death-bed of the infant evangelist; melted under the heart-

felt prayers of Uncle Tom; mourned the cruel fate of St. Clare, and deprecated the avaricious policy of his widow. They had traced poor Tom from the palace to the auction-block; accompanied him to Legree's plantation; execrated the proceedings of that fiend incarnate; thrilled with horror over Cassy's story; agonized with Uncle Tom in his sufferings, and boiled with indignation at his cruel martyrdom. The whole party, from the eldest to the youngest, had hung upon the narrative with intense interest; and it had left upon their hearts a deep and vivid impression of the heinous character of American slavery, suggesting the inquiry so natural to all well-regulated minds, "Can we do anything for its mitigation?"

"I am glad we are not slaveholders," said little Frank.

"And so am I," "And so am I," echoed other five juvenile voices.

"Right, my dears," said Mrs. Stanfield: "it is a pleasant thought that our country has washed its hands of slavery by the noble act of emancipation."

"What," said Lucy, the eldest of the group, "were Englishmen ever so wicked as to hold slaves?"

"Yes," replied her mamma, "it is not yet twenty years since, that, after a long and arduous struggle, the fetters of the West India slaves were broken, and twenty millions sterling paid to their masters to compensate them for an act of justice."

"And so lately as when I was a boy," said Mr. Stanfield, "Englishmen were engaged in the atrocious slave-trade; they did not scruple to burn down the huts of the poor Africans, then drive their wretched captives to the coast, crowd them into the pestiferous slave-ships, and, after delivering a third or one half of their human cargo to the sharks, they sold the survivors to the planters of the West Indies, who worked them like beasts of burden in their cane-fields."

"All too true," rejoined the lady, "and therefore, we should be the more thankful that it is done away. 'Slaves cannot breathe in England,' nor in all the wide dominions of Queen Victoria. Our seamen, instead of engaging in the slave-trade, now bravely risk their lives for its suppression, while Canada stands open to receive the hunted fugitives of American slavery, and secures them an asylum beyond the reach of the Fugitive Slave-law, and where the baffled master does not dare to follow them. Thus, not only are we no slaveholders, but our influence is altogether on the side of the slave. We have renounced all connection with the accursed system; and surely this is cause for thankfulness."

"So it would be if it were really the case," said Mr. Stanfield; "but 'do not let us crow till we are out of the wood.' What if I could prove that we are all slaveholders?"

This was a puzzler for the young people, who immediately commenced a round of busy speculations.

"Pa a slaveholder?" exclaimed George, the eldest boy; "why, that's a new idea entirely! I wonder where he keeps his whips and fetters! Perhaps we should find them in the barn if we were to look?"

"And I wonder where papa's slaves are to be found?" said Lucy. "Are they in the kitchen, do you suppose? Is the cook a slave, who threatened to leave her place last week because 'ma would not allow her lobster to make sauce for the boiled salmon? But here's Betsy with the coal-scuttle: perhaps she can tell us. Betsy! papa pretends he is a slaveholder: are you one of his slaves, or do you know of any he has about the premises?"

"Oh! Miss Lucy, you are joking me now! I am certain master has no slaves in the kitchen: what he may have in the stable-yard, I cannot say; but I, for one, never saw any there."

"I think I've got it," said little Frank; "he means the dumb animals about the place. You know the horses are sometimes lashed with a good stout whip, and the cows are driven to the pasture. I have seen Charlie beat them very hard with a hazle stick, when they sauntered on the way."

The idea was immediately enlarged upon by little Ellen, who sprang from her seat, and shouted to the dog and cat upon the hearth-rug, "Dash! are *you* a slave? Puss, are *you*?" Dash wagged his tail in denial of the imputation, and Pussy purred an emphatic "No!"

"Your guesses are all wide of the mark," said papa.

"Do tell us what you refer to," said Mrs. Stanfield: "we are all anxiety till we know what you mean."

"First, then, I will ask you one question, my dear," responded her husband. "If we are the means of holding our fellow creatures in bondage, does it make any difference whether they work for us on our own premises or 4000 miles away?"

"I should think not," rejoined the lady.

"And now, George, a question for you. Can you tell me how many families reside in this village of Fernbrake?"

"If I remember right," said George, "at the last census, we had a population exceeding a thousand, and if we reckon five people for each house, it will make rather more than 200 families."

"Well, then," said his papa, "If I could take you into the quarry, and show you thirty slaves, men, women, and children, toiling for the people of Fernbrake; brutal overseers amongst them with huge cart-whips, flogging them every time they venture to take a rest; and savage bloodhounds at their heels, to pursue the poor wretches if they should run away, would you not be horrified, and scandalised at the sight?"

"So we should." "We should, indeed," cried the children, with much emphasis.

"And mamma has just told us," continued Mr. Stanfield, "that if we really employ slaves, it is all one whether we have them at home or abroad."

"There can be no doubt on that head," said George.

"Well, then, although we, the people of Fernbrake, have no slaves at work for us in the stone-quarry, I have no doubt there are at least thirty human beings toiling for us under the terror of the lash elsewhere. If I had a telescope that could spy round corners, and the knowledge necessary to point them out, I might show you, probably, a dozen slaves, toiling on Spanish and Brazilian plantations, labouring in crop time (which comprises, at least, four months of the year,) for more than 18 hours a day, raising sugar for the people of Fernbrake! I might show you, perhaps, a dozen or more, working on the cotton plantations of America, exposed to all the miseries and hardships which are but too prevalent in these dens of cruelty. I might show you husbands torn from their wives, and children from their parents; poor people forbidden to learn to read, kept purposely in a state of brutal degradation, and shut out from the light and consolation of the Gospel; all these sufferings endured; all this wickedness perpetrated in raising cotton for the inhabitants of Fernbrake! I might tell you that these dozen cotton growers would all be killed off in eight or ten years, and a dozen more brought in to take their places; to toil, and suffer, and die like their predecessors; and that thus, in the course of one man's lifetime, about a hundred human beings would be murdered in raising cotton for this one village! Again, I might show you women, wading in the swamps of Carolina, companions of snakes and lizards; haggard and forlorn as Lapland witches; childless, friendless, comfortless; pining under miasma, bowed with rheumatism, shivering with ague; their existence but a living death, its only consolation that it soon must end; all this to produce rice for the inhabitants of Fernbrake."

"These are doleful pictures, indeed, dear papa," said Lucy; "and I am quite as well

pleased that your wonderful telescope is not forthcoming. The mere description is enough for me."

"What made you say there were *thirty* of these poor creatures toiling for Fernbrake?" inquired George. "Have we any means of ascertaining the number?"

"It is of course but a vague estimate," replied Mr. Stanfield, "arrived at, I suppose, by considering the total amount of slave-produce brought into this country for home consumption, and from this data, calculating the number of slaves likely to be employed in raising it, and then dividing the whole population of Britain by the number so obtained. The result has been said to indicate that every five families in this country employ one slave; but in order to be quite safe, I have called it seven families, and if, as you calculate, we have above 200 families in Fernbrake, we must furnish employment to about thirty slaves."

"But how do you know, my dear, that we, in this house, are parties to these oppressions?" inquired Mrs. Stanfield anxiously.

"Did I not see in your last bill from the grocer's, an item for Porto Rico sugar? Is not the rice, so often on our table, and which is so large, and white, and pulpy, unmistakeably the Carolina? And are you not aware that the material of your printed calicoes is American cotton, and that this, with a very small exception, is all slave-produce? More than half of the entire crop of American cotton comes to England, which thus becomes the main prop and bulwark of American slavery. So intimately are we connected with the cruel system, that the money value of a slave, in New Orleans, is said to be regulated on the Exchange of Liverpool: that is, when cotton rises rapidly in Liverpool, the price of slaves rises in America: when cotton falls, slaves fall. Nay, so deeply are we implicated, that some, who have excellent means of information, assert that American slavery could not possibly exist without the money support it derives from Britain."

Such was the decisive reply of Mr. Stanfield; and it drew from his feeling wife the rejoinder, "Well, I see we are self-convicted.—You have brought the evil home to our own doors. We must try to do better."

"But," continued Mr. Stanfield, "what if I say that worse remains to be told? I have shown you how the English people support *slavery unconsciously*; but, also! there are Englishmen to be found, men, too, of high respectability and standing, who support the *slave trade with their eyes open*! If I had the wonderful telescope of which I spoke, and were to direct it to the continent of Africa, I

might show you long lines of miserable slaves on their route to the coast, linked together by chains manufactured for the purpose at Birmingham, or Wolverhampton. I might show you these poor creatures arrived at the barracons, and bartered for flimsy calicoes and other fabrics termed 'coast goods,' got up for this trade in the looms of Manchester and Glasgow. I might show you them again, writhing and gasping in the hold of a slave ship, fitted out by the aid of British capital, and landed, in the form of living skeletons, in Cuba or Brazil, to raise an article for the British market—the sugar which sweetens our tea and coffee, our pies and puddings. Englishmen, perhaps, have too much refinement and good taste to engage in the awful slave-trade themselves, besides it is against the law of this country; but it appears to me that, by our conduct, we say virtually to the Spaniard and Brazilian, 'We have no taste for the slave-trade; we dislike to see human suffering; but we are fond of sugar, and must do business. We will supply you with piece goods, trinkets, and chains, as many as you require; we will discount your bills, and thus enable you fit out and man your ships, and we will buy your sugar as soon as it is ready. It is true our squadron is in the way. You know we *must* save appearances; and if 'Britannia rules the wave,' she must have a large navy, and some excuse for keeping it up. But this need not deter you from the adventure; for you know very well that you can afford to lose three vessels out of four, and have a good profit left. *You* have the savagery and *we* have the capital: between us it shall be done, and we will divide the spoils.' In a similar strain we address brother Jonathan: 'We abominate cruelty, but our looms and spindles cannot go without cotton; therefore, you do the whipping and hounding, and we will be your best customers.' Our gold is the bribe which the slaveholders look to as the reward of their oppressions."

"I see your argument, papa," said George: "you wish us to understand that the planters do not keep slaves from the love of slavery, but for the money which it brings them; and if it were not for the support afforded by customers, slavery would cease. No doubt, this is quite true; but as it is impossible to make every one think so, and as there are many who, if they saw it, have not the conscience to act upon it, but would still go to the cheapest market, it seems to me that the slaveholders would yet find customers if half the houses in England were closed against their produce."

"Remember, George, it is our own deeds we shall have to answer for, and not those of

others; at least if we have done our duty by them in laboring to induce them to act differently. If a thief were to come and offer you some stolen goods, or a smuggler were to tempt you with some cheap silk handkerchiefs, would you consider yourself warranted in saying to yourself, 'Well, if I do not buy them my neighbor will; I may as well have a good bargain for once?' or would such an excuse hold good in the eye of the law, which condemns the receiver of stolen goods as well as the thief? It would be far more noble to take a different course and say, 'Let others do as they may, as for me, I will do what is right. If all the world conspire to uphold slavery, I am determined it shall have no support from me, although my opposition should be but as a drop in the bucket. You shall not find me amongst those who cry out against an iniquity and then revel in its fruits.' Mrs. Stowe, I think, states our principle in her 12th chapter, where she says, speaking of the slavedealer Haley, 'He is a shocking creature, isn't he—this trader? so unfeeling! It's dreadful, really!.....But who, sir, makes the trader?—Who is most to blame: the enlightened, cultivated, intelligent man who supports the system of which the trader is the inevitable result, or the poor trader himself?' I only wish the same able pen had pressed this doctrine home on the consumers of slave produce. If all right-minded people in England and America would but withdraw their commercial support from the slaveholders, and transfer their custom to the free-labour cultivators, who pay wages to their work-people, like honest men, the weight of such a practical testimony would be incalculable, even though it failed in exerting any direct influence on the market."

"I wonder, my dear," said Mrs. Stanfield, "that when you feel these things so deeply, you have never spoken of them before. You know I am always ready to carry out your wishes; and besides, I shall now consider it a matter of duty to do what I can to patronize free-labor. But you must tell me how to proceed."

"I am conscious of my fault," replied Mr. Stanfield; "but although I have long had a glimmering of this principle, it is the affecting exposure of slavery in Mrs. Stowe's book that has driven the subject home, and compelled me to look at it seriously. Our connection with slavery is so ramified in this country, that total and immediate abstinence from its produce is impossible; but we may, to a great extent, avoid the staple articles on which the system depends for its support. Sugar, coffee, and rice, the produce of free-labor, may be procured by inquiry at almost any grocer's. It

is true you may sometimes have to put up with an inferior article, but those who are earnest for a principle must be prepared to make some sacrifice. When your sugar happens to be a shade or two browner than you would desire, call to mind the example of the good William Allen, who abstained entirely from sugar for more than 40 years, and only recommenced its use on the day of the West Indian emancipation. Remember, too, that Clarkson has computed that, in the course of the arduous struggle against the slave-trade, 300,000 in this country, denied themselves the use of sugar rather than be found supporting the horrid traffic. With them, it was dis-using sugar altogether; with us, it is merely preferring the free to the slave grown. The article of cotton is more difficult to deal with, as comparatively little of good quality, besides American, is brought to market. By a considerable effort, however, the friends of the slave have succeeded in bringing out a variety of articles, manufactured from cotton warranted the produce of free-labor. Other fabrics may be usefully substituted in linen at a very moderate price. Gradually, I hope, the difficulties in this department will be overcome, and then we may have the great satisfaction of dismissing slave-produce altogether from our houses. In the mean time, let us do our duty by increasing the demand, in order that the happy day may be hastened. If a large and unmistakeable demand were once established, we might leave it to British enterprise to provide the supply."

The conversation, which had been listened to by the children with the deepest interest, was now interrupted by the nursemaid, who came to summon the two younger ones to bed; but, from that day forward, there were stationed to keep watch over Mrs. Stanfield's table and wardrobe, six of those little cruisers, which, according to Elihu Burritt, if established in every family, would be more effectual for the suppression of slavery and the slave-trade than the largest squadron in the world.—*Newcastle [England] Anti-Slavery Series, No. 1.*

A GOOD EXAMPLE.—At a recent election in Scotland the following was issued in a large placard about two feet long:—

"Bribery at Elections! Electors and Non-Electors!—Gentlemen, it is mean to be bribed with money! It is mean to be bribed with place. It is meaner, more degrading still, to be bribed with strong drink. Frown down the contemptible offer of strong drink as payment of a vote, and let the man who opens a public house, be shut out of the House of Commons."

To labor for a perfect redemption from the spirit of oppression, is the great business of the whole family of Christ Jesus, in this world.—*J. Woolman.*

THE NON-SLAVEHOLDER.

PHILADELPHIA, FIRST MONTH, 5, 1853.

It is scarcely needful for us to inform the intelligent class from whom we hope to obtain our readers, that the SLAVE TRADE, though denounced as *piracy*, is still clandestinely abetted by citizens of the U. States. Witness the case of the Lady Suffolk, built and launched at Baltimore. A correspondent of the Herald says of her—

"She has sailed with her crew of 70 men for Africa. She is commanded by a notorious slave captain, who has hitherto been very successful as a slave trader, and who boasts of having murdered a boat's crew belonging to an English man of war, who attempted to board him on the coast of Africa."

We invite serious attention to the consideration, *who gives the motive?*

We have read, with interest, the "First Annual Report of the Walthamstow, [Eng.] Free Produce Association." It is an important document. Strong positions are clearly set forth, and enforced by resolutions. Witness the following—

"That a comprehensive train of religious thought, if brought to bear upon this subject, does not harmonize with and sanction the consumption of slave-labor merchandize—but *does* harmonize with and sanction the use of that which is free grown." * * * * "That the preference of free to slave labor merchandize, when the opportunity of choice between the slave and free labor article is open to the purchaser, is, emphatically, the christian preference."

PROHIBITORY LIQUOR LAW AMONG THE CHEROKEE AND CHOCTAW INDIANS.

We have highest authority for the statement, that excellent things, hidden from the sagest expedientists, are "revealed unto babes"—and we not unfrequently find that, among savage or half civilized nations, the simple Truth is arrived at by the same short and direct process which childhood employs.

We have before us, (the loan of our friend Dr. Butler, son of the honored and time-worn Missionary) a rare and valuable volume of "CHEROKEE DOCUMENTS"—in which we trace a series of ACTS, commencing thirteen years ago, in which the course of entire PROHIBITION is adopted, in reference to the traffic in ardent spirits. Similar laws had been enforced among them at least since the year 1823, but the following is the first Statute upon the subject, in the collection referred to.

AN ACT to prevent the introduction and vending of Ardent Spirits.

Be it enacted by the National Council, That the introduction or vending of Ardent Spirits, in this Nation, shall not be lawful; and any and all persons are prohibited from bringing or engaging in the traffic of ardent spirits within five miles of the National Council during its Session, or one mile from any of the places designated for holding Courts, during their session, or one

mile of any public meeting or gathering in the Nation under penalty of having the same wasted or destroyed by any lawful officer or authorized person, by the sheriff, for such purpose.

Tah-le-quah, Cherokee Nation, Sept. 28, 1849.

W. SHOREY CORDEY,

President National Committee.

Concurred, YOUNG WOLF,

Speaker National Council.

DAVID CARTER,

Clerk National Council.

Approved,

JOHN ROSS, Principal Chief.

After two years, we find this act substituted by a much more stringent one, with penalties annexed of from ten to five hundred dollars for each violation. Another Act in 1843 enforces the last one, and authorises "the sheriffs or lawful officers of the several districts to procure search warrants, authorising the entering and examining of any house when there is good reason for believing that spirituous liquors are therein concealed."

These enactments were not suffered to be a dead letter, but were strictly enforced. Nor did the sheriff wait for evidence that SALES had been made or contemplated. The liquor was evidence against itself, and was summarily "wasted." The paths leading from the white settlements were watched, and suspected persons were examined. As women had greater facilities for concealing the forbidden article in their robes, they were searched, and the spirit, if found, was promptly "wasted." The sale within the neighboring States being beyond the control of the Cherokees, the following resolutions, which ought to put the white man to the blush, and to stimulate him to action, were jointly passed by the National Committee and National Council.

Whereas, The use of ardent spirits, and other intoxicating liquors, is productive of the most demoralizing and otherwise degrading and mischievous effects; and

Whereas, The laws of this Nation prohibiting the introduction and sale of ardent spirits, are rendered inoperative to a great extent by the existence along the line within the States of Arkansas and Missouri, of distilleries, groceries, and tippling shops; from which those deleterious articles are issued to the Indians;

And whereas, Murders and other crimes of the most atrocious and alarming character, the very rehearsal of which is revolting to humanity, are clearly traceable to the still-house and the groceries as their source, Therefore

Resolved by the National Council, That the Principal Chief be, and is hereby requested, through such channel as he may deem proper, respectfully to ask of the Governors of the States of Arkansas and Missouri respectively, such co-operation, and the exertion of such influence as in their wisdom they may deem proper, effectually to put a stop to the traffic in ardent spirits, along the Indian lines of their respective States.

TALHEQUAH, C. N., Jan. 10, 1845.

JOHN DREW,

President National Committee pro tem.

Concurred, A. CAMPBELL,

Speaker Council, pro tem.

Approved, JOHN ROSS.

In 1843, it was enacted by the General Council of the Choctaw Nation,

"That no person or persons shall be permitted to bring any whiskey or other ardent spirits into this Nation; and he or she so offending shall have the whiskey or other ardent spirits destroyed by the light-horsemen or any one of them; and the Captains and their warriors, of the several districts, shall have the power, and be bound to exercise the duties of the light-horsemen in assisting to destroy any whiskey or other ardent spirits which may be brought into this Nation."

The same act further provides for the protection of officers, who shall in self-defence kill any one who shall resist the destruction of his liquors; and attaches the penalty of *death* to any offender who shall in such resistance cause the death of an officer, or of any one engaged in the enforcement of this law.

Did our space admit, we would gladly transfer to our columns various specimens of wise and humane legislation—as, provisions for public schools, orphan schools, &c. One Act appropriates \$30 per annum "for the benefit of Ke-ti-keski, a decrepid and destitute citizen of this Nation"—another entitled "AN ACT for a Pension for blind TARCHURSA" provides for him a like annuity and appoints for him a guardian. Another and subsequent Act, makes the same provision for all *destitute* blind citizens of the Cherokee Nation. It is to be deplored that in reference to the holding of Slaves, these Indians are little if any better than their white neighbors.

Many of our readers are aware that the Society of Friends, in Great Britain, some time ago, under apprehension of religious obligation, addressed to the governments of the world, a Christian Expostulation respecting Slavery. This address has been separately presented by deputations to most of the governments of Europe; to several of them, by that veteran minister of Christ, William Forster, and lastly, to the sovereign and officials of Portugal, by our valued friends Jno. Candler and R. W. Fox. This truly christian mission has, so far, been most cordially received. A letter from the Marquis de Bemposta to the Friends last named, says—

"Having received a copy of the manifesto addressed to the Sovereigns of Europe, and of the world, who profess Christianity, which you lately presented to her most Faithful Majesty the Queen of Portugal, and which has not only excited attention but admiration, and finding that we are working in the same vineyard, I cannot but express my cordial approbation of your mission," &c. &c.

John Candler and wife and Wilson Burgess are now about consummating a similar mission to Brazil. J. C. writes—

"I feel more and more satisfied that the religious concern of our Yearly Meeting is a right one. We do not look for very early fruits from its labors; it is a work and walk of faith, but we already see that the Address, which we continue engaged to circulate, meets with a response in the hearts of some persons of influence abroad."

There have been incidents of surpassing mo-

ral beauty connected with this extended mission, with which we would seek to enrich our columns, did we not hesitate to violate the privacy of correspondence.

There are in Philadelphia ONE THOUSAND SEVEN HUNDRED AND TWELVE licensed Tavern keepers. It were easy to demonstrate in figures an immense pecuniary cost to the community resulting from this wholesale license to make drunk; but these statistical exhibits, though so startling, lose, by familiarity, their full effect upon the mind, though backed by a knowledge of a far more astounding amount of *moral* evil. There has been a degree of supineness upon the subject, resulting from the inefficiency and the failure of all *restrictive* measures. The present policy, however, of PROHIBITORY LAW, not only theoretically desirable, but practically benificent, and proved to be so by the experience of several Commonwealths, has inspired the patriot and the philanthropist with fresh hope. Let these be faithful and diligent in their efforts, by all Christian means, to enlighten the popular mind, and, by petitions and otherwise, to obtain a distinct and strong expression of popular sentiment in favor of the Maine Law, or its equivalent. Especially, let every prominent Temperance man carefully watch the course of Legislative action in his own State. Years of delay are not so much to be dreaded, as the tricks of wily politicians in the formation of law, as in the case of New Hampshire, where the statute was loaded with excrescences (not chargeable upon Temperance men,) for the apparent purpose of making it unconstitutional, of furnishing texts to its opponents, and of preventing its well-working and its perpetuity.

Considerable efforts have been lately made for the establishment of a wholesale Warehouse in London, for the supply of Free Labour goods. We are not advised of the result.

LITERARY NOTICES.

"THE SLAVE; HIS WRONGS AND THEIR REMEDY—*Slavery is sustained by the purchase of its productions.—If there were no consumers of Slave produce there would be no Slaves.*"

The above is the title with the mottoes, of a very spirited and commendable monthly sheet, published in London, from which we could profitably make extracts did our space permit.

"HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, written according to the principles of Peace, by MARY MURRAY." This is a book which meets an absolute necessity of the age. It has our hearty commendation, with our desire for its general adoption in Schools. The

following are among many notices which it has received.

Extract of a Letter from Judge Jay.

"I have read your book carefully, every page of it, and thank you for sending it to me, but still more for writing it. It is incomparably the best compendium of American History I have met with. It is remarkable for fulness, condensation and lucid arrangement. It is admirably adapted for use in common schools, and I wish it might be universally introduced into them. It is also a very convenient book for reference, the dates being so constantly and so conspicuously given.

WILLIAM JAY."

"An excellent book. Not only is it written, as all history ought to be, in the true spirit of christianity, but has many other qualities which strongly commend it to general use in schools and families. It is lucid in arrangement, and brief, simple and perspicuous in style. It is of necessity little more than a full synopsis, within so small a compass, of our entire national history, yet sufficiently comprehensive for its purpose, and well deserves to be adopted as a text-book in our seminaries of learning. We wish our land and all Christendom were full of such histories, and only such in their moral tone. Every wise Christian parent will desire such a book for his children."—*Advocate of Peace. Boston.*

THE AFFECTIONATE AND CHRISTIAN ADDRESS of many thousands of the Women of England to their Sisters of the U. S. A.—This is a most christian and lady-like exposition on the subject of Slavery, and is now in circulation for signatures. We have but one criticism. It admits danger in immediate emancipation. The Word of the Lord through Isaiah (I. 16, 17,) gives the true and safe order of Reform. "Put away the evil of your doings from before mine eyes; cease to do evil—learn to do well."

THERE IS JOY IN HEAVEN OVER ONE SINNER THAT REPENTETH.

When to the lyre of Heaven
Another string was given,
The angels saw it glisten,
And hushed their harps to listen.

And when from Chaos first
Our mighty system burst,
The stars of morning sang
Till the high concave rang.

They saw new Heavens unfurled—
A re-created world—
The universe more wide—
Its Maker glorified!

And there was higher joy
Where bliss had ne'er alloy,
As the angelic choirs
Struck their resounding lyres.

And when, from endless death,
By penitence and faith,
Through HIS redeeming grace
Who loved our guilty race,

A sinner leaves his ways
And learns the voice of praise,
Washed in atoning blood
And reconciled to God,

Each high intelligence
Gains added bliss from thence,
And there is joy in Heaven
O'er one reclaimed, forgiven!

When sinful mortals bow
In self-aborrence low,
With penitential tears,
With trembling and with fears,

Then countless seraph throngs
Raise their rejoicing songs,
And o'er ten thousand spheres
Are hailed those burning tears!

Oh, then, if angel eyes
Lend us their sympathies,
If God's unmeasured love
Is shared by all above,

Not unto Earth be given
Hopes which belong to Heaven!
Be it our aim to share
The high rejoicings there;

The banquet of the skies!
The untold ecstasies—
The ceaseless voice of praise
Which ransomed spirits raise! W. J. A.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.—We are obliged to postpone several favors. A transatlantic metrical contribution, of decided merit, was not perused till too late—which we regret.

NOTICE TO AGENTS.—It is hoped that those who formerly acted as Agents for the Non-Slaveholder, will kindly resume the office,—and that they and other persons interested in our paper and its objects, will use prompt efforts to procure subscribers, and forward lists as early as possible.

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Printed at the Gazette Office, Burlington, N. J.

THE NON-SLAVEHOLDER.

"Whoso gives the motive, makes his brother's sin his own."

VOL. I.—NEW SERIES.]

PHILADELPHIA, SECOND MONTH, 1853.

[No. 2.

WILLIAM J. ALLINSON, EDITOR.

PUBLISHED MONTHLY BY G. W. TAYLOR,
North West Corner of Fifth and Cherry Streets,
PHILADELPHIA.

Price of one copy, . . .	FIFTY CENTS.
" of three copies, . . .	ONE DOLLAR.
" or of eight copies, . . .	TWO DOLLARS,
in one payment, always in advance, post-paid.	

The present Number has been kept back some days by the delay of the Paper Maker.

Those who send names of subscribers will please say whether the first No. (which is nearly exhausted) has been received. We do not wish to send unnecessary duplicates.

The five volumes of the Non-Slaveholder already published, contain much that is of permanent interest and value; and as we hope to present in the present series matter worthy of preservation, we propose to furnish at the end of the year a title page and index.

All subscriptions and business letters should be sent to the Publisher in Philadelphia. Exchange papers and communications for insertion should be addressed to "Non-Slaveholder," Burlington, N. J. (the residence of the Editor.) Our contributors are requested, in consideration of the smallness of our paper, to observe brevity and condensation. Should our subscription list warrant enlargement, we may add to the number of our pages. Will not our friends, in various places, form clubs of eight or more?

We have numerous gratifying expressions of welcome to our little Periodical. We extract from a few letters of valued correspondents, whom we cordially recognize as our Agents and co-workers.

WEST ONEONTA.—"I am glad that the Non-Slaveholder is resumed. I enclose \$2 for eight copies."

SALEM, OHIO—"I send \$8 for the Non-Slaveholder, which please send to the following addresses. * * * I intend to obtain more as soon as possible. I am not aware of there being an agent in this place; if not, the writer would offer his services."

STARKESBORO', VERMONT.—"Having received the first No. of the Non-Slaveholder (New Series) I may acknowledge that the regret which encumbered my mind for its discontinuance, has given place to feelings of joy. I fully believe that the Non-Slaveholder is al-

together the best auxiliary, (in proportion to its amount of matter) in the cause of equal rights, of any Periodical that has come under my observation, and I offer my aid, feeble as it is, in serving as Agent. * * I send the enclosed, for copies to be sent as directed."

Among numerous letters of a like gratifying nature, we were cheered with an approving one from the large hearted Lewis Tappan, and one from our long loved friend, J. G. Whittier, whose continued failure of health saddens the hearts of thousands as they receive the tidings. We quote a passage from his welcome favor:

"I am glad to see that thou hast undertaken to continue the NON-SLAVEHOLDER, believing as I do, that such a paper is needed. It touches a point of especial interest to the religious Society with which we are connected; and in inculcating the particular duty of abstinence from the products of an oppressive system, it leads us also to inquire more closely of ourselves, how far, in our business, our habits of living, and in our general intercourse with our fellow men, we are directly or indirectly giving countenance to other evils, or other forms of oppression. I was pleased to see in thy first No. a notice of Mary Murray's History. I have carefully looked over the book, and fully concur in the favorable estimate of it which Judge Jay has so well expressed. It ought to be introduced into all Friends' Schools, and I should be glad to see it in all others."

For the Non-Slaveholder.

THE CONSISTENT PLEADER.

"The Slave, the Slave, hath many wrongs,
Who might his pleader be?"—Lucy Hooper.

Not they who, in the expressive language of Holy Scripture, "join in affinity with the people of these abominations," and partake of the fruits of the oppression. It is an interesting fact, and strongly confirmatory of the truth of the doctrine which forbids the use of the productions of slave labor, that a large proportion of those who, from a state of apathy or opposition in respect to the abolition of slavery, have become thoroughly convinced of the sinfulness of the system and earnestly desirous to plead the cause of the slave, have also felt a deep consciousness that, so far as they were partaking of the fruit of his forced and unpaid toil, their hands were contaminated and their

moral power weakened. The "first love" of many has indeed waxed cold, and their tender consciences become seared, and their clear perceptions darkened and obscured through the influence of interest, or from considerations of convenience and policy.

Another large class of abolitionists err in this matter from "want of thought." A lady, near London, writing recently to a friend in Newcastle, on the subject of abstaining from slave labor products, said—

"If people had these things set before them and explained to them, many who *exclaim* loudly against Slavery would *act* up to their talk a little more than they do. It is often not want of feeling, but want of knowledge. Even many who appear true and sincere Christians encourage the crowning enormity of a guilty world, by their thoughtlessness, though they would discountenance it strongly in conversation. It is not enough in this, our present state, to talk. Let us *work*, for the time is indeed short." * * "It is extraordinary how very few people have the slightest idea, that each, individually, can help to put down Slavery, not by the force of arms or the blockade, but by merely refusing to buy the produce of iniquity. The ignorance that prevails on this subject is marvellous. Many will tell you that they think Slavery a dreadful thing, and that they fear it is impossible to put it down, yet, when told they themselves are encouraging it every day of their lives, look at you with astonishment and displeasure."

True policy, not less than sound principle, points to non-participancy in the avails of slavery as *one* means of extirpating the evil. A friend in Boston, W. J. Bowditch, whose voice and pen are, of latter time, powerfully employed in pleading the cause of the slave, wrote to me, as follows, under date of 26th April—

"Will you have the kindness to send to me any documents which will give me information on the following points connected with free produce? The numbers of free producers; in what States they are: how often the travelling agents visit them, and in fact every information which can be had in a printed form.

"It seems to me that though the Free Produce movement may produce but little effect on slaveholders *directly*, it has, or may have, a very salutary effect on the non-slaveholding whites. If we encourage them to labor as freemen, and continually increase our demands on them, we gradually create an anti-slavery nucleus in the very heart of the South—indirectly, it is true, but none the less surely—and this is of the very *greatest* moment, for it is to the non-slaveholders that we are to look for co-operation. Unless we can instil into them anti-slavery sentiments, our labor will be in vain."

We are often referred to John Woolman as a noble pattern of an advocate for emancipation, but, alas, how few can plead, as he did, *consistently*, for the slave! He deeply regretted, in his day, that "the number of those who decline the use of the West India produce, on account of the hard usage of the slaves who raise it, appears small, even among a people truly pious; and the labors in christian love on that subject, of those who do, are not very extensive." In reference to a traffic with slaveholders, he said, "that complaint of the Lord by his prophet, 'They have strengthened

the hands of the wicked,' hath very often revived in my mind;" and on his death bed, he refused to take any medicine which came "through defiled channels or oppressive hands."

With such an example before us, and feeling in ourselves an evidence of the truth of the principles which he faithfully maintained to the end—remembering, too, the vast increase of the iniquitous system since his day—how can we shrink from our duty? S. R.

For the Non-Slaveholder.

ACTING BY OTHERS.

Qui facit per alium facit per se.

Lines suggested by reading an article in "Friends' Review," under the above caption.

What means that awful piercing wail
From Africa's far distant shore,
That, borne upon the midnight gale,
Comes blended with the ocean's roar?

What means that sudden lurid glare
Athwart the dark vault of the sky?
What mean those shouts that rend the air—
The savage yells of victory?

The trafficker in human flesh
Has moored his vessel to the strand:—
For him the warm blood flows afresh;
For him destruction wastes the land.

What means that fearful dying groan
Within that slaver's stifled hold—
Now mingled with the tempest's moan,
Now hushed in death's embraces cold?

Lo! the dark cargo closely prest
In one dense mass on oaken bed,
With foul air choked, with thirst distrest,
The living hand-cuffed with the dead!

But see, a sail from Albion's Isle
Bear down upon the "stripes and stars!"
They strike their flag with artful wile
And shout "ahoy" the British tars.

With fearful speed and foaming prow
The fierce avenger draweth near:
The bursting bomb and cannon now
Strike the pursued with dread and fear.

The traders in the souls of men
Bring from the hold their shackled slaves,
Who wildly shriek in terror when
They cast them chained into the waves.

The greedy sharks devour their prey.
And mix with gore the briny flood:
The guilty wretches speed their way
Through mangled limbs and seas of blood.

Again, what means that shriek of woe
From Mississippi's turbid wave—
Borne on the breeze so mournful, low,
The plaint, the anguish of the slave?

It comes from canebrake solitude;
It comes from tortured manhood bound;
It comes from ravished womanhood,
And infants dying on the ground.

And with it comes in thunder peals
A voice unanswerably true,
That on the heart the maxim seals—
WE DO WHAT WE BY OTHERS DO.

Yes, we who use the *proceeds* of
The Negro's unrequited toil,
Are guilty of his wrongs, and prove
Ourselves *partakers of the spoil*.

For us the slave-ship plows the main;
For us the hapless hamlet burns;
For us the life-blood dyes the plain;
For us the childless mother mourns.

And when this voice the dead shall wake—
"WHERE IS THY BROTHER?" O how vain
Will be the plea the guilty make—
"Am I my brother's keeper?"—then.
When inquisition's made for blood—
The blood *now* crying from the ground—
What shall we answer unto God,
When on our skirts the stain is found?

A. L. B.

THE NON-SLAVEHOLDER.

PHILADELPHIA, SECOND MONTH, 2, 1853.

THE FREE PRODUCE ASSOCIATION OF FRIENDS
OF OHIO YEARLY MEETING.

There is much encouragement in the history of this Society, which was organized in MOUNT PLEASANT, in the autumn of 1846, by a few individuals, who had been led to see the inconsistency of professing a testimony against Slavery, whilst sustaining it by a free indulgence in the use of its products. For the space of three years various difficulties prevented a general meeting of the Association, but, during this period, the Board of Managers maintained a healthful vitality, and an extensive correspondence. In the first month of 1848, the Managers, with a full understanding of all the difficulties to be encountered, took measures, and opened a subscription for the formation of a Joint Stock Company, to establish a Store, for the sale, exclusively, of products of Free Labor. A Company was started, with a capital stock of \$2500, which was subsequently increased to \$3000. This Association, now numbering about 150 members, is vigorously sustained, and has, within the last two years, published and circulated upwards of eighty thousand pages of Free Labor Tracts; in which the obligation resting upon Christians to abstain from the patronage of Slavery, and from *supplying the motive*, was clearly set forth.

ALUM CREEK FREE PRODUCE ASSOCIATION OF FRIENDS.

We learn with satisfaction that such an organization has been formed within the limits of Alum Creek Q. Meeting, a branch of Indiana Yearly Meeting. The Secretary is Griffith Levering, Bermington, Morris Co., Ohio.

As we have expressed, the formation of such Societies is a satisfaction to us. Nor is it easy to perceive therein, any cause for displeasure or uneasiness to any sincere friend to human freedom. It involves, of necessity, no aggression, or denunciation. It is a quiet, unobjectionable *let alone* policy. It offers, to those who desire to keep themselves entirely separate from the unclean thing, a *business channel*, through which they can supply their necessities, without being implicated in a system which is, in itself, a great sin against God and man, and which may fairly be said to include every variety of crime. We commend these Associations, and the various FREE PRODUCE STORES, to the support of those, who, (to quote the words of one of our predecessors) "believe that the maintainance of a pure conscience leads to the avoidance of all connection with evil, simply because such connection is wrong, and that abstinence should be primarily founded on a sense of the duty of individual purity, independent of its ulterior effects, *just as Honesty is to be pursued apart from a consideration of its policy.*" We hope, however, in the course of our publication, to lay before our readers frequent illustrations of the further sentiment of the Editor just quoted, "that it is abstinence only which can rightly concentrate, direct and give force to every other anti-slavery operation."

MAINE LAW MOVEMENT IN NEW JERSEY.—A noble Temperance Convention, attended by thousands, was holden in Trenton on the 26th and 27th ult. Among the speakers were NEAL DOW, to whom so large a debt of love is due from us all, Dr. Jewitt, and John B. Gough. On the 27th, the Petition, with nearly Fifty Thousand signatures, was presented to the Legislature.

THE TAVERNER'S PROCLIVITY TO SIN.

We transcribe the following curious testimony against taverns from an ancient work "translated out of French by Samson Lennard," and printed in London, 1624. It is entitled—

"LVTHERS FORERVNNERS: or a CLOVD OF WITNESSES DEPOSING FOR THE PROTESTANT FAITH. Gathered together in the history of the Waldenses: who for diuers hundred yeares before Lvther sccessiueally opposed Poperie, professed the trvth of the Gospell, and

sealed it with their blood: being most grievously persecuted, and many thousands of them martyred, by the tyrannie of that Man of sinne, and his superstitious Adherents and cruell instruments."

DE LA TAUERNA.

La Tauerna es fontana de pecca, Eschola del Diauel, &c.
Of the excesse and disorders which are commonly committed in Tauernes.

A Tauerne is the Fountaine of sinne, the School of the Dieuill; it works wonders, fitting the place. It is the custome of God to shew his power in his Church, and to work miracles; that is to say, to giue sight to the blinde, to make the lame to goe, the dumbe to speake, the deafe to heare, but the dieuill doth quite contrary to all these in a Tauerne. For when the Drunkard goeth to the Tauerne, hee goeth vpright, but when he cometh forth hee cannot goe at all, and hee hath lost his sight, his hearing, his speech. The Lectures that are read in this school of the deuill, are Gluttonies, Oathes, Perjuries, Lyings, Blasphemies, and diuers other villanies. For in a Tauerne are quarrells, slanders, contentions, murders, and Tauerners that suffer them are partakers of their sinnes, and that wickednesse they commit. For hee that would speak as much euill of their Parents, as they suffer men to speak of God, and the glorious *Virgin*, and the Saints in Paradise, and all for a little gaine by the saile of their wine, they would never endure it so peaceably. And therefore it is said in *Ecclesiasticus*, that the Tauerner shall not be freed from sinne.

The passage in *Ecclesiasticus* above referred to is rendered in our version (xxvi. 29) "A merchant shall hardly keep himself from doing wrong: and a huckster shall not be freed from sin." The word *tavern*, which in this country is often confounded with *inn*, properly means merely a tippling shop, though Webster gives the derivation from "*tab*, the root of table, a board,—and Sax. *cern*, place."

In the Romish Bible, the word "haberdasher" is, I think, given where we read "huckster." An ancient version gives it, "a retailer is not without sinne." In an old Bible lodged at Friends' Bible Depository, "imprinted at London by the deputies of Christopher Barker Printer to the Queen's Majestie, Anno 1595," we read,—*"There be two manner of things which mee thinke to be hard and perilous: A merchant cannot lightly keep him fro wrong, neither a tauerner himself from sinne."*

A translation by Thomas Matthews, in 1537, differs from the above only in the orthography. "*There bee two maner of thyngs, which me thinck to be hard and perilous. A marchaunt cannot lightly kepe hym from wrong neyther a tauerner hym selfe from synne."*

Being curious to know how far the Greek text would warrant these renderings, we consulted a friend who is a linguist, and received the following reply.

"It seems to me, that, whether *taverner*, or *huckster*, be the rendering of the word in *Ecclesiasticus*, the point is, the exposure to sin that there is in trade; and especially, in retail trading. 'A merchant shall hardly keep himself from doing wrong: and a huckster shall not

be freed from sin.'—And, the pallelle place: 'As a nail sticketh fast between the joining of the stones, so doth sin stick fast between buying and selling.' The Greek word rendered huckster means exactly that; a dealer in various things in a small way.

"The word *tavern*, though so simple in its origin—the place where a board is—soon obtained a bad sense. And, so, *taverner*. We find it in Chaucer in the very worst company; as well as the word from which it comes.

"In Flaunders, whilom, was a compaynie.

Of yonge folk, that haunteden folie;

As hazard, riot, stewes, and *tavern-es*.

PARDONER'S TALE,

and again

"And up they start, as dronken, in this rage,
And forth they gon toward-es that village;
Of which the *taverner* had spoke before,
And many a grisly oath, than, have they sworn."

IBID.

And in a translation of Pliny, made by Philemon Holland in 1600, we read: "But this and such casts were derived by hucksters, vinters, and *taverners*, after the wines were laid up in their cellars."

Whatever may have been the meaning of the author of *Ecclesiasticus*, it is certain that there is a strong proclivity to sin, on the part of the Tavern-keepers, and of other venders of intoxicating beverage. We would exercise great caution in denouncing particular classes of men, yet, both our reason and our observation force us to the conclusion, that there is something peculiarly heart-hardening in the avocation. More than once have we known the Tavern-keeper to reject, with brutality, the wife and the child, who with tears besought him not to sell his bane to the one, who, though now the occasion of horror and degradation, would be, if sober, their pride and their support. We have known the recent inebriate, in the midst of earpest and well-known efforts at reform, enticed to the Tavern and made drunk,—and, when his money was exhausted, expelled with violence and personal injury. We have known such persons to come to us with tears of agony, remorse and despair;—we have known them to "resolye and re-resolye," and finally to DIE the victims of snares *purposely laid for them*. Are these extreme cases? Alas, we could tell of many heart-rending ones, without going beyond the reach of our own individual knowledge, and we long ago adopted the sentiment of the homely translation of the honest Waldenses. We have no unkindness towards the Tavern-keeper—we desire his prosperity, his happiness and his salvation—but we wish his business at an end forever, the world over. INNS are needed,—but the wedlock of "*Inns and Taverns*" is an unholy alliance. Hail to the Star in the East!

THE MAINE PROHIBITORY LIQUOR LAW!
And let all the people, from Madawaska to Palo Alto, and thence to Cape Flattery say Amen.

We rarely witness a greater forfeiture of self-respect for the sake of obtaining custom, or one more certain to produce the *contempt of those to whom the price is paid*, than the movement among New York Merchants, to remunerate the owners of the Lemmon Slaves, for their loss consequent upon the recent decision in the case. It is a naked and shameful business advertisement. The names of those who contributed to the fund, and *also of those who decline*, are published in papers circulating at the South;—that the business houses of the former may be patronized, and those of the latter avoided. Some pleasant instances have occurred of Southern Merchants seeking the stores of those who would not *put their principles into the Market*. We commend to those who are wise, and to those who are susceptible of shame, a passage from a Poem of the revolution, written by TRUMBULL, (the American Hudibras,) in 1775.

"And are there, in this free-born land,
Among ourselves, a venal band;
A dastard race, who long have sold,
Their souls and consciences for gold;
Who wish to stab their country's vitals,
If they might heir surviving titles;
With joy behold our mischief brewing,
Insult and triumph in our ruin;
Priests, who, if Satan should set down,
To make a bible of his own;
Would gladly for the sake of mitres,
Turn his inspir'd and sacred writers;
Lawyers, who, should he wish to prove,
His title t' his old seat above,
Would, if his cause he'd give 'em fees in,
Bring writs of *entry sur disseisin*;
Plead for him boldly at the session,
And hope to put him in possession;
Merchants, who, for his kindly aid,
Would make him partner in their trade;
Hang out their signs with goodly show,
Inscribed with "*Beelzebub and Co.*"
And judges, who would list his pages,
For proper liveries and wages;
And who as humbly cringe and bow,
To all his mortal servants now?
There are; and Shame, with pointing gestures,
Marks out the addresses and protesters;
Whom following down the stream of fate,
Contempts ineffable await;
And public infamy, forlorn,
Dread hate, and everlasting scorn."

A letter from a lady at Munich, in Bavaria, states that 29 editions of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* have already been published in the German Language, and that even in the remote villages of the Tyrol, (where she had been visiting) "a powerful feeling of sympathy for the Slave has been awakened by this graphic and touching picture of Slave life." In view of the wonderful circulation of this Book, we have had our attention on the alert, to note any evidence that it had induced in its readers a relinquishment of the products of slave labor. The graphic and true picture therein presented, has excited the painfully intense sympathy of

hundreds of thousands; of persons enough to affect the slave interests materially, if they would all make the sacrifice for which Humanity calls. The philanthropy which spends itself in a mere excitement of feeling or ebullition of words, will not open the prison doors: the tears shed over the pages of *Uncle Tom*, will not rust away the chain of the Slave, nor give deliverance to the captive. From "*THE SLAVE*" (published at Newcastle upon Tyne), we clip the following paragraph, written by our immediate editorial predecessor.

From an anti-slavery correspondent at Philadelphia, dated 11 mo. 29, 1852.

"I am clearly of the opinion that your effort to raise funds for the redemption of the Weims family will be useful to the anti-slavery cause. It can only be through action, ultimately, that the wonderful popularity of "*Uncle Tom's Cabin*" can benefit the slave. The sighs and tears expended over the book will soon be evaporated; and if the moral influence of the readers be not directed towards some definite action or object, slavery will continue prosperous and triumphant. I have always regretted the position taken by leading members of the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society on this subject. I do not believe one of them would refuse to redeem a parent, brother, sister, or child from Indian Algerine bondage. Friends in England raised a large fund for the ransom of members of our Society, who had been seized and held in slavery by the Algerines; yet, in that case, the redemption was a direct encouragement to the taking of new prisoners. Here, the case is totally different. The ransom of an American slave does not occasion, but may prevent, the birth of another; therefore lessens, and cannot increase, the number of slaves."

We notice in "*The Slave*" an interesting letter from H. H. Garnet, dated in 11th Mo. at Madeira, whither he had been driven by unfavorable weather. He says, "We shall spend the day on land, and expect to start to-morrow once more. We have 100 passengers and as many men. Several passengers are respectable persons of colour. I rejoice to know that if we never reach our destination, we shall all be together: we shall not be separated." We since learn with pleasure that he and his family have arrived at Jamaica.

We referred in our last to the Address of the Women of England to their sisters in the U. S. of America, and objected to its admission of danger in immediate emancipation. There were not wanting in England persons of quick and true perception, to detect and point out this error. Samuel Gurney, Joseph Sturge, Sir E. N. Buxton and G. W. Alexander corresponded with the Earl of Shaftesbury, the reputed author of the Address, suggesting another form which they enclosed to him. The following is his reply:

"Gentlemen—I am much obliged to you for the kind letter I have had the honor to receive from you. I am fully aware of the great zeal and exertions of that party who assert the necessity and safety of immediate abolition, nor do I deny that they formed their opinion on very strong and cogent arguments.

But our present purpose is less to discuss the question of the time of abolition than the mode by which we can obtain it at all. It is a sad thing that we should appear to be disunited. We are not so in fact. We all alike abhor and denounce that iniquitous system of slavery which disgraces and desolates so many regions of the civilized world.

My own views, as far as I am able to form any, and those of many with whom I am associated, are very moderate. An interval of three years would be ample to make all necessary preparations for the admission of the slave to every right and enjoyment of a freeman.

I heartily approve the course you propose. Obtain as many signatures as you can to your address, which requires immediate abolition. We will do the same by ours, which admits that it should be progressive. Both of them may then go together, for, with the exception of one passage, the addresses will be identical,—identical in spirit, sentiment, and expression, and differing only in the subordinate consideration whether a short interval, or more, should be allotted for the purpose of preparation. I am, gentlemen, your very obd't s'v't.

SHAFTESBURY.

FREE TRADE.—Much satisfaction is felt in the approach to Free Trade on the part of Great Britain, both from principle and on account of its well-working. An honored correspondent expresses his agreement with this feeling, "not so much through argument, or even result, as because I deem it consistent with Bible doctrine and Christian wisdom: tending to prove that the whole Earth is the Lord's—that all men are brethren:—and destruction of warlike tendencies." We shall not differ from our correspondent, or from the views of many English Philanthropists, when we except, from our general approval, the patronage given to Slavery by the introduction without distinctive duty, of Slave Produce, respecting which Act of retrogression Lord Stanley declared in the House of Lords, that they "would thereby add to the profit on every Slave engaged in the cultivation of sugar:"—asserting also that "an increased demand in this country [Great Britain] would have a tendency to stimulate Slavery." We would have Free Trade applied to every traffic which it is becoming for Christians to countenance, but we would gladly pile obstacles as high as Olympus, between Slavery and its Market; because

"We feel that wrong with wrong partakes:
That nothing stands alone:
That whoso gives the motive, makes
His brother's sin his own."

The trial of the kidnapped **RACHEL PARKER**, on her petition for freedom, after her varied sufferings incident to her seizure, imprisonment, &c. and after the murder of her protector and chief witness, **JOSEPH C. MILLER**, resulted on the 12th ult. in the abandonment of the case, as hopeless, by the Prosecuting Attorney, before it was submitted to the Jury; and, consequently, she is acquitted, before the world, of the crime of being or of having been the property of Luther A. Schoolfield. But as each inhabitant of every State where the pecu-

liar institution is sustained has as clear a title to her as ever Schoolfield had, we cannot guarantee her exemption from future annoyance. We are not aware that any person will call in question the cruel injustice of this case; yet how much deeper is the hardship, and the injustice, endured *without redress in this life*, by each one of the millions who are actually held as slaves. Reader! could'st thou pay thy money to a Schoolfield for the product of the labor of a kidnapped Parker, and then wear or eat it? And what better claim than that of a kidnapper (if you trace the title back) can any slaveholder exhibit? "Every thing else," says Channing, "may be owned in the universe; but a moral rational being *cannot be property*. Suns and stars may be owned, but not the lowest spirit. Touch any thing but this. Lay not your hands on God's rational offspring. The whole spiritual world cries out **FORBEAR!** The highest intelligences recognize their own nature, their own rights, in the humblest human being."

SAMUEL GURNEY the distinguished English Philanthropist, in a recent letter which we are permitted to quote, says, in reference to American Slavery,—

"How heartily do I desire that such a noble country as the United States would clear itself of such abomination, the great preventive, in my judgment, of her rising to her full and highest destiny. How can she hold up to the nations of the Earth the great cause of religious and civil liberty, at the same time having within herself, and maintained by her laws, the most flagrant system of tyranny existing in the civilized world. With such a people, I do think think the cause of emancipation must grow and strengthen."

We notice briefly for unqualified condemnation the recommendation of Governor Bigler to allow slave traders to bring slaves into the land of PENN. The A. S. Bugle has a caustic editorial of much force. We can only clip a paragraph from its midst.

"The recommendation would seem at first blush to be something of a sacrifice to the spirit of comity and good neighborhood, inasmuch as it denies to Pennsylvanians the privilege of holding slaves in the commonwealth, which it grants to those of a foreign state. But if the Governor will look at it, he will see that his recommendation needs amendment: that it falls decidedly short of that "comity" which can alone save the Union. Is it not a most discourteous rebuke to the chivalrous emigrants, with their stolen women and babes, that it forbids its own citizens to imitate their patriotic example, and buy children and flog men and women? It is a tacit, uncourteous and cowardly rebuke of the system, against which the Union will hardly be able to sustain itself. It subjects these wandering patriarchs to great inconvenience, often preventing their sale of stock to Pennsylvania planters. It is an invasion of their rights. Why may they not sell a foot-sore woman or a sick babe, at half price, to an innkeeper, to pay a bill,—like drovers of other stock? It can't be that the accommodating Federal Constitution, when it proposed to regulate commerce meant to prohibit this traffic, and if it did, that "comity" which permits Ohio drovers to sell sick calves and lame pigs, should certainly grant it to these merchant princes, who speculate in human souls and sinews."

We also notice the introduction of Bills for this pur-

pose into the Legislatures of Pennsylvania and New York. These bills are disgraceful to their framers and advocates, whom we may fairly though sadly conclude to be themselves *slaves*, "servants to him to whom they obey." It is no new thing to see activity on the part of the advocates of evil. Shall the friends of goodness and of right shame their professions by supineness? These pro-slavery deeds should prompt to faithful efforts, not only to arrest the progress of such outrages, but to clear our own hands of participation in the monstrous crime of slavery while we labor for its extinction.

"Up then, in Freedom's manly part,
From gray haired eld to fiery youth!—
And, o'er the Nation's naked heart,
Scatter the living coals of Truth!"

In a day when so much is said respecting the "perpetuity of the Union," we would call attention to the true source of real danger, as depicted in the following lines by a popular Poet,—as also to the true remedy, which must consist, not in compromise measures for the recapture of fugitives, but in a practical observance of the precept given by Daniel to Nebuchadnezzar: "WHEREFORE, O KING, LET MY COUNSEL BE ACCEPTABLE UNTO THEE, AND BREAK OFF THY SINS BY RIGHTEOUSNESS, AND THINE INIQUITIES BY SHEWING MERCY TO THE POOR."

THE WARNING.

BY H. W. LONGFELLOW.

Beware! The Israelites of old, who tore
The lion in his path,—when, poor and blind,
He saw the blessed light of heaven no more,
Shorn of his noble strength and forced to grind
In prison, and at last led forth to be
A pander to Philistine revelry,—
Upon the pillars of the temple laid
His desperate hands, and in its overthrow
Destroyed himself, and with him those who made
A cruel mockery of his sightless woe;
The poor, blind slave, the scoff and jest of all,
Expired, and thousands perished in the fall!
There is a poor blind Samson in this land,
Shorn of his strength, and bound in bonds of steel,
Who may, in some grim revel, raise his hand,
And shake the pillars of this commonweal,
Till the vast temple of our liberties
A shapeless mass of wreck and rubbish lies.

LITERARY NOTICES.

THE ANNUAL MONITOR FOR 1853. *London*.—This is an annual "Obituary of the Society of Friends in Great Britain and Ireland." It has been conducted for 40 years and, as the present Editor remarks, "it will be readily admitted that for many years it has occupied a useful place, and exercised, in a religious sense, a 'sanitary' influence in our society." The introduction to the present volume, is, in itself, a valuable treatise, from which we should copy at length, were it not that our limits are too small, and that having been republished in the FRIEND'S REVIEW, it is accessible to a large number of our readers. We insert a single paragraph, not without a fear that we mar its excellence by separating it from the context. The sentiments, though not new, are

happily expressed. It should never be forgotten that the Church of Christ is not *sectarian*: that an honest Church organization "*has no sectarian purposes to answer*." And it is unspeakably important that Christians, whatever their name, their peculiarities of belief, or their stage of progress and degree of enlightenment, should continually seek, by example, by precept, and by wrestling in prayer, to draw souls away from sin and unto Christ; that the building up of a sect is not the mission committed to any Church by the glorious Head from whom all authority is derived; and that the travail of all regenerated souls should harmoniously tend to speed the coming of the day when there shall be one fold and one Shepherd.

"As a Religious Society, we have no sectarian purposes to answer, we have no party interests to support, 'we preach not ourselves, but Christ Jesus the Lord,' our mission is, in the highest and truest sense, a Catholic one;—its simple aim is the exaltation of the cause of our God and of his Christ, and the government of His church and the individual members thereof, by Himself, through the Holy Spirit, in accordance always, as that cannot but be, with the inspired words of the sacred volume. In surveying the present state of professing Christendom and of the world, it cannot but be cause for humble thankfulness, to the reflecting mind, that it has pleased our Heavenly Father, in His infinite wisdom and love, to grant us *both*; and, to the members of our religious community, it must be matter of peculiar satisfaction and gratitude, that *both* have been and are so fully recognized amongst us; so that, whilst we firmly and practically hold to the great scriptural doctrine of the immediate, the direct and perceptible influence of the Holy Spirit, we have *never* hesitated, as a people, and do not *now* hesitate, to bring all the doctrines we believe, and all the practices we allow, and all the testimonies we consider it right to bear, to the test of the Holy Scriptures; and those principles which have long united us together in the bonds of Christian fellowship are still found efficacious, both to equip the servant of Christ for the active duties of life, and to prepare him for the honest hour of death."

"THE SIXTEENTH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE ASSOCIATION OF COLORED ORPHANS" is before us. We have several times visited their Asylum on Fifth Avenue, New York, and it would be difficult for us to convey in words our high appreciation of this noble Institution. We extract the following touching notice of the decease, in 5th month last, of an excellent colored teacher, who had been engaged in the establishment three and a half years.

"The decease of M. A. Bodee, announced at our last meeting occurred on the 20th of 5th month (May) last. She had been subject to a weakness of the chest for several years past, and had repeated hemorrhages of the lungs.

"It was not until six days before her decease, although quite indisposed, that she was induced, by the earnest entreaty of the Matron, to discontinue her indefatigable exertions in the school, and retire to her room after commencing the duties of the day.

"The cold which she had taken, resisted all the efforts of the physician; and as she carefully watched the failure of the applications intended for her relief, she repeatedly remarked, 'It is not the will of God that I shall recover—He does not intend that I shall,' and

with a cheerful resignation would exclaim—"The will of the Lord be done, He knows what is best." Still, as the separation from her children occasionally presented itself the conflict was severe. "What a struggle, what a trial," would she say, "to leave my poor fatherless children, orphans in the world!"

"She expressed to one of the Managers the assurance she at times felt, that her prayers had been heard and answered; and remarked that the blessings of religion were first experienced by her in this Institution. Her heart seemed filled with the love of God, and with the voice of prayer and praise she oft proclaimed his goodness.

"The condescension of her Saviour, and the love and faithfulness and goodness of God, were oft referred to by her. As she was beloved in an unusual degree by the different members of the family, their attentions to her were unwearied, for which she evinced the warmest gratitude, and manifested great patience under acute suffering.

"Being asked a little before her death, if she felt herself approaching the eternal world, she replied she did; and if it were the will of God to take her to himself, could she resign her children into his hands? With the utmost calmness and composure, she answered, that she had done so several days since. Soon after this her three youngest children, inmates of the Institution, were brought to her bed-side; and turning herself, she reached forth her hand to little Fanny, the eldest present, embraced her in the warmest manner, and wept over her in the tenderness of a mother's love. Then, after a solemn pause, she slowly raised her feeble hand, and placed it on the head of the child, saying: 'Fanny, I resign you to God and to Mrs. F——, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.' As she moved her hand, her daughter retired, and Edward, the next in point of age, approached his dying mother; and in the same solemn and affecting manner did she resign this dear boy and his still younger brother to the care of the Managers of the Asylum.

"She then took an affectionate leave of the Matron, teachers, and friends present. The children belonging to her school were permitted to pass through her room and to take her hand; to some of whom she was enabled to address a few words of advice. Some of the larger children were next allowed to pass before her and look a last farewell. Her eye then turned upon her own dear children and she exclaimed: 'Is it possible that I have been sustained in this trying hour? Yes, yes, verily; praise the Lord! Glory! glory! glory to God, who has given me this victory! Father! they are thine, and I am thine. The sting of death is sin, and the strength of sin is the law—O death where is thy sting! O grave where is thy victory!' Her last words were, 'O that my death may be a warning to many!' With one convulsive struggle the spirit was released, and the love of God, which had carried her through the gates of death, calmly settled on her countenance, which was radiant with a sweet and heavenly smile."

"PEOPLE-DIPLOMACY: OR THE MISSION OF FRIENDLY INTERNATIONAL ADDRESSES BETWEEN ENGLAND AND FRANCE."—A London pamphlet of 24 pages fraught with moral beauty. Would that we could lay it before our readers. It is the modest report of Elihu Burritt, &c., who went to France on behalf of the People of England, the bearers of about fifty *people letters*, full of peace and good will, from British cities, to cities in France selected in reference to points of similarity. London, Edinburgh, Glasgow and Dublin, each addressed an epistle to Paris. The first was signed by

four members of Parliament, by officers of various societies, and upwards of 1500 respectable citizens. Glasgow sent about 2000 signatures. The address of Liverpool to Marseilles was adopted at a large public meeting and bore 2500 signatures of adult men. A belligerent attitude towards France seemed to be assumed by Great Britain. The foremost Journals abounded in stinging epithets and imputations. But a popular counter-movement arose, instigated, doubtless by the lovely spirited Elihu Burritt, whose movements in the cause of Truth and Humanity we admire in common with philanthropists generally, whilst, personally,

"We find in his heart something dearer than Fame."

The reception of this mission of good will in the several French cities, by the officials, by the public Journals, and by the People, was most happy. One official in his speech of acknowledgment said:—"that the idea of fifty of the most important towns in the United Kingdom addressing such people-letters to fifty large towns in France, appeared to him a magnificent thought and act." The "*Journal de Maine et Loire*," (Angers) says—"It seems to us difficult not to show ourselves grateful.

* * * If we had to reply to their friendly manifestation, we should do it in a real French fashion; and we should say to them:—"Our very dear friends, you have won our sympathy, and to prove it, we invite the signers of the address to a monster banquet, at which we will fraternize each other." It is impossible for us to do justice to the pamphlet; but it is calculated to clinch the conviction of our Universal Brotherhood, and to make us love, for the Eternal Father's sake, the People of Britain and the People of France.

QUESTIONS FOR BIBLE CLASSES AND FAMILIES. New York. S. S. & W. Wood. An acceptable aid to the religiously concerned instructor of youth.

FREE PRODUCE STORES.

We refer to advertisements on page 8 of No. 1—merely giving, as far as they occur to our memory, a list of Free Produce Stores, at which *Dry Goods and Groceries*, free from the stain of Slavery, may be obtained. We especially call attention to the Wholesale Establishment which heads the list, as our friend G. W. TAYLOR is prepared to supply orders (as per last month's advertisement) to all parts of the country.

George W. Taylor, N. W. Cor. 5th and Cherry street, Philadelphia.

Ezra Town, 86 Pearl street, N. Y.

E. Catell, Mount Pleasant, Ohio.

L. Coffin & Co., Cincinnati.

Joel Parker, Newport, Indiana.

Nathan Stanton, Newport, Indiana.

Seth Henshaw, Greensboro', Indiana.

C. M. & M. J. Scarlet, Penn's Grove, Chester Co., Pa.

"The Voice of the Fugitive," announces, prospectively, a Free Labor Store in Detroit, Michigan.

THE NON-SLAVEHOLDER.

"Whoso gives the motive, makes his brother's sin his own."

VOL. I.—NEW SERIES.]

PHILADELPHIA, THIRD MONTH, 1853.

[No. 3.]

WILLIAM J. ALLINSON, EDITOR.

PUBLISHED MONTHLY

BY GEORGE W. TAYLOR,
North West Corner of Fifth and Cherry Streets,
PHILADELPHIA.

Price of one copy, . . . FIFTY CENTS.
" of three copies, . . . ONE DOLLAR.
" or of eight copies, . . . TWO DOLLARS,
in one payment, always in advance, post-paid.

and at the rate of 25 cents per copy for all over eight.
When gold or postage stamps can be remitted it will
save the loss on bank notes which are here under par.

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paid in advance at the delivery post office.

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to the Publisher, in Philadelphia.

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should be addressed, "Non-Slaveholder, Burlington, N.
J." (the residence of the Editor.)

Extracts from our Correspondence.

[Continued from page 9.]

MASSILLON, OHIO.—Our ancient and valu-
ed friend, Isaac Bowman of this place, writes:

"I am glad the Non-Slaveholder is again published.
I enclose \$— . * * * I am getting to be an old
man, now in my 78th year. I feel desirous to assist
the distressed African race. I was well acquainted
with Thomas Clarkson in 1795: and I abstained from
the use of West India Sugar to bring about the aboli-
tion of the African Slave trade. Cotton was not so
much used at that day."

UNION COUNTY, INDIANA.

"I rejoice that the Non-Slaveholder is resuscitated, and
I have sent thee eight subscribers, and \$2. I shall try
to send more names. I believe that the cause has suf-
fered by the suspension of the Non-Slaveholder, but
hope that it will now advance."

COLUMBIANA COUNTY, OHIO.

(With 25 subscriptions, the same effective Agent having
previously sent a larger amount.)—"The surplus money
of \$8.00, which I send, is designed to aid the Free La-
bor cause. Purely from this motive, I have prevailed
upon several to pay a sum additional to the price
charged for the paper." Another friend of the same
county writes—"I was glad to receive the first No. of
the Non-Slaveholder, and enclose \$3 for 12 copies."

CHENANGO COUNTY, N. Y.

"I fully agree with the Editor that the class among
whom the Non-Slaveholder circulates, has sustained a
loss by its discontinuance."

BUSH COUNTY, INDIANA.

(With 9 subscribers.)—"There has certainly existed
a vacuum on the question of human slavery since the
Non-Slaveholder was suspended. If my humble efforts
would be acceptable to the Editor, I would be willing
to act as Agent in this section."

An esteemed correspondent in Ohio, in send-
ing subscriptions for 25 copies, writes:

"Thou wilt see that I have obtained them all at the
club price, which I think is high enough for so small a
paper."

So we thought, and therefore we placed the
price so low. Yet we hope to make some of
our single numbers fully worth the whole price
for a year, and it is quite certain that our pub-
lication will be a pecuniary loss unless we have
a large subscription list. But if our free labor
friends, generally, will do as well as this cor-
respondent, and send us "club price" for 25
subscribers, at each of their respective post
offices, we shall aim at increasing, perhaps
doubling the size of our sheet. We are obliged
to omit a large amount of valuable matter,
which we would gladly spread before our read-
ers. [This friend has since furnished us with
25 additional names.]

WAYNE COUNTY, INDIANA.

(With 8 subscribers.)—"I shall make up another
company soon. I am much pleased with the first No.
of the paper. The article, 'Who are the Slaveholders,'
alone is worth the subscription for a year."

LYNN, MASS.

(With 12 subscribers.)—"We are rejoiced to see that
there is feeling enough on the subject to send forth the
Non-Slaveholder again. I sincerely hope thou wilt find
sufficient patronage to encourage thee to persevere in
so good a cause."

DUTCHESS COUNTY, N. Y.

(With an enclosure.)—"It is gratifying to discover that
the Non-Slaveholder is resumed. The cause which it
was designed to promote has lost none of its excellence
by lapse of time, and the influence it was calculated to
exert is none the less called for."

MONKTON, VERMONT.

(With a list of subscribers.)—"In the course of my ram-
bles I have seen a copy of the new series of the Non-
Slaveholder, and heartily glad was I to see its face once
more. * * * Allow me to say that I was much
pleased with the Editor's resolve to treat the subject
with moderation. I suppose it is his desire to convince
and not to upbraid. It is true the apathy manifested by
many who claim to be regarded as anti-slavery par ex-
cellence is disheartening, still this coldness on the subject
does not dissolve the guilty partnership existing be-
tween the slaveholders and the consumers of slave
grown productions, nor ought it to check free expres-
sion from those who see and feel

"That whoso gives the motive, makes
His brother's sin his own."

"I hope never to forget the impression made upon
my mind by witnessing a coffin of slaves, in the prime
of life, marching through the streets of Richmond, Va.
How could I suppress the conviction that they were on
their way to the cotton field, to be used up in the pro-
duction of an article which the slaveholders feel well
assured will meet with a ready market amongst thou-
sands at the North; notwithstanding the petitions they
had signed, the prayers they had uttered, and the ad-
dresses in favor of emancipation which they had circu-
lated. However careless the patrons of slavery may
be as to where they bestow their patronage, have we
not unquestionable evidence that the Slaveholder clearly

understands that they who buy his cotton, are his indispensable supporters."

JEFFERSON COUNTY, OHIO.

A valued friend and hearty co-laborer expresses a desire that our Journal may be filled with "matter of fact, and not of fiction"—having reference to the English tract in No. 1. We receive the hint kindly, as it is meant, and, while we had not thought of objecting to the article in question, we are opposed on principle to every deviation from truthfulness, and we do not favor the employment of fiction as the medium of Truth. We have wished to express our views upon this subject, and hope, ere long, to find space for their insertion. Our friend pertinently adds, "I believe the Truth has owned the cause, and will sustain it." In the town in which he resides we have 50 subscribers. In Salem, Ohio, 88. This is owing to disinterested efforts made for the cause' sake. There are *many* other cities and towns where still larger results would follow similar efforts. Will not persons be found willing, for the promotion of the Truth, to canvass their neighborhoods, at the club price, and thus increase the circulation of the Non-Slaveholder, prevent it from being a loss to those engaged in it, and enable us also to enlarge its dimensions?

CLINTON COUNTY, OHIO.

(*With 8 Subscriptions and prospect of more.*)—"There has been much loss sustained by the Non-Slaveholder being suspended so long. * * * There is a great advance in the free-labor cause in these parts. I think there are many who would rather make use of free produce (if they could be certain that it was such) than the slave grown: and some who were much opposed seven years ago, now think it right to abstain."

NEW GARDEN, OHIO.

"I have obtained 33 subscribers, and enclose \$3, and may say I have a prospect of obtaining a few more."

BOON COUNTY, INDIANA.

"I have received, and read with interest, two numbers of the Non-Slaveholder, and have obtained 13 subscribers. I was a subscriber for it so long as it was published before, and much regretted its stopping, as we are apt, if we have not something to stir up the pure mind to duty, to grow cold respecting things which we know to be right."

WASHINGTON COUNTY, INDIANA.

A much valued friend writes:—"Having received the first number of the Non-Slaveholder, I feel anxious to encourage its circulation among our own members and others, believing it calculated to do much good; particularly here, where we are within thirty miles of a Slave State. It has not yet been convenient to see many of our friends. Should some of those whose names I send be unwilling to pay me, I am willing to circulate it gratis. The members of our Monthly Meeting are generally taking the Review, yet I hope a considerable number of them will take the Non-Slaveholder. It is a publication which every member of our society should, as I believe, feel an interest in promoting the circulation of. I have full confidence in the abilities of the Editor and Publisher to conduct the paper in a consistent manner."

[We would not offer our paper to any one

as a substitute for *Friends' Review*, but would always be glad to let it accompany that able and excellent journal, the Editor of which has probably done more for the cause of Human Liberty, than any other living writer in the Society of Friends, unless we except J. G. Whittier. The beloved friend from whom we have just quoted, is one whose words of encouragement are peculiarly strengthening to us.]

CEDAR COUNTY, IOWA.

An order for 12—with promise of more.

ONTARIO COUNTY, N. Y.

(*A second order from this friend.*)—"I have just received the 2d No. of the Non-Slaveholder, and am so well pleased with it, as well as with the former, that I have made out a list of eight persons at a neighboring Post Office, who I think *ought* to take it, for which I send you \$2.00 at once. If any of these do not choose to refund the subscription when I inform them, I can pay for them. Would not Agents generally find this the best way?"

PARKE COUNTY, INDIANA.

(*Eight subscriptions.*)—"Five or six of the above are persons who have not heretofore been readers of the Non-Slaveholder, but have rather stood aloof, regarding the plan therein advocated as impracticable: just such names as I was most desirous of procuring, as they are candid, intelligent, orderly Friends. For, if the succeeding numbers should be as well prepared as the first, I think they can hardly fail to become convinced and enlisted in the cause. I expect that there will be a considerable number of subscribers from this county. The cause of Freedom and Humanity,—the principles of genuine Republicanism and Christianity, seem to be gaining advocacy in this vicinity."

DUTCHESS COUNTY, N. Y.

(*With 24 subscribers.*)—"A large portion of the persons in this subscription list feel a deep interest in the causes of Peace, Temperance and the Abolition of Capital Punishment, and hope to see those subjects treated in your paper according to the Prospectus, as well as the Anti-Slavery cause."

For the Non-Slaveholder.

"The law of the LORD is perfect, converting the soul: the testimony of the LORD is sure, making wise the simple: the statutes of the LORD are right, rejoicing the heart: the commandment of the LORD is pure, enlightening the eyes." Psalms xix. 7, 8.

"Who is blind, but my servant? or deaf, as my messenger that I sent? who is blind as he that is perfect, and blind as the LORD's servant?" Isaiah xlii. 19.

In the belief of these truths I stop less to enquire what was the mind of the servants in the utterance of the following discipline of Friends, than to seek to know what was the mind of the Spirit in its enunciation. That knowing, it should be our desire to bring to its fulfilment no lame offering. The rule is one touching *impartially* every case coming within the sphere of its comprehensive principle, and pronouncing all such described support of Slavery as immoral. Are we in no wise concerned in purchasing, disposing of, or holding

mankind as slaves, when by using the products of slavery we give the motive for so purchasing, disposing of, and holding them? Do we by no means encourage or countenance a traffic in slaves, when we use commodities resulting from, and which it was the direct end of the traffic to procure?

"Hear ye deaf; and look, ye blind, that ye may see." Isaiah xlii. 18.

"It is the sense and judgment of this meeting, that if any in membership with us are in any wise concerned in purchasing, disposing of, or holding mankind as slaves, or shall by any means encourage or countenance a traffic in slaves, they should be treated with as for any other immoral, unjust, or reproachful conduct; and if they are not brought to such a sense of their deviation from the law of righteousness and Christian equity, as to condemn the same to the satisfaction of the monthly meeting, they should be disowned.—1774, 1834."—*Discipline of Philadelphia Y. Meeting*, p. 128.

Do any exclaim, in view of the involved principles and ultimate remedy, "This is an hard saying; who can hear it?"—let them bear in mind that when Friends, generally, shall wash their hands in innocency of the slave's wrongs, when, only, they can put the remedy into operation, that remedy will be as little needed to maintain fully the perfect law as it is now to suppress the acts which are recognized as infractions of it.

PENINGTON.

For the Non-Slaverholder.

IMPORTANCE OF CHRISTIAN CONSISTENCY.

Unhappily too many while they may be industriously engaged with one hand for the removal of an evil, are inconsiderately contributing, with the other to its permanence. Has not this been the case in respect to most of the labor performed for the liberation of the Slave.

The evils of Slavery in the United States, having become so conspicuous and so odious, especially within the last thirty years, have claimed the attention, of the more considerate, and Philanthropic part of the community, and some of both sexes, have entered the field of labor for its extinction. Associations have been formed, to enlighten and correct the public mind.—Legislative bodies have been memorialized, to prevent its growth; the press, (that mighty engine), has been employed, to some extent, in exhibiting the wrongs of the Slave.

These labors, however well directed, and well intended, have met with much opposition, which, although applied with the greatest solicitude, in Church and State, has proved insufficient to prevent a growth of anti-slavery feeling. Anti-slavery advocates are now to be seen in much larger numbers, (compared with thirty years ago), in Legislative bodies, in newspaper articles, and in the membership of religious societies and of direct Anti-slavery associations. The influence upon Slavery of these Laborers, and their co-workers of other countries, may be estimated from the amount of hostility called forth, and the desperate means resorted to for the protection of the system. Witness the fugitive slave law of 1850, and kindred enactments of latter times. Thus it must be evident, to all who have, even to those whose information on the subject is limited, that in 30 years the cause of the Slave has materially gained ground, and has attained a position, so intimately connected with the prosperity, or adversity of the country, that the Slaves rightful claim to liberty can never be again smothered into silence. And such is the case with many religious denominations; so large

a number of their members, having become awakened to a sense of the slave's wrongs, they cannot with a clear conscience, permit their respective sects as quietly to slumber over the oppression of the Slave as in time past.

These results are the more encouraging, when we reflect that they have been achieved by a merely one handed labor, since, in most abolition efforts, the efficiency of the labor of the one hand, has been crippled by the aid given to the system with the other, through the inconsistency of participating with the Master in the products of the slave's unrequited toil. As it is for the produce of his labor he is first enslaved, it is undeniable and selfevident that the purchasers of these products furnish the inducement for a continuation of his bonds. Judging then from what has been effected, may we not infer, that, if this aid to the system had been withheld by all who loathed Slavery, the stain would ere this have been removed? How much remains to be accomplished!—Yet how quickly the finishing stroke might be given, by laying the axe to the root of the corrupt system.

Little does the Slaveholder regard the arguments and remonstrances of the Abolitionists, so long as he gives him the aid he wants for holding the Slave. In this way the Abolitionists have more than half neutralized their own labors. They proclaim the injustice and sin of slaveholding, (and they do well), and at the same time publish to the world a practical acknowledgment of the right of the master, by paying him for the proceeds of the slave's labor.

The master for good reasons, is at a loss how to make any distinction between the principle, which governs him, in procuring the products of the slave's labor direct from his own hands, and that principle, by which the Abolitionist voluntarily possesses himself of these same products, with some intervening agency to pass them over from the slave to him. In brief, the master does not comprehend the difference in principle, between doing an act by the hand of another, and doing it himself. "*Qui facit per alium, facit per se.*"

The merits of the cause in which the advocates of emancipation are engaged, imperatively demand consistency, and that we do not practice upon a principle which we condemn in the slaveholder. Let us then, as Christians, treat the slaveholder, as an erring brother, with kindness and due regard; but, giving him no countenance in his error and injustice, let us practically condemn the principle by which a fellow man is deprived of his liberty, and reduced to merchandize, for the purpose of depriving him of the fruits of his labor. Such a consistent Christian course pursued by the friends of emancipation, would in a short period, produce in many slaveholders such a sense of their own injustice, as would speedily cause the removal of the last fetter from the suffering bondman.

D. I.

Quaker Hill, 12th of 2d mo., 1853.

From "Love to God, considered as a preparation for Heaven."

Reader, if, notwithstanding the name of a Christian, thou art still a votary of this present world, following the vain devices and desires of thy own heart—pause, I beseech thee, in thy mad career, and meditate for a few moments on the heights of heaven, and on the depths of hell. The curtains of the night will soon close around thee, and thy mental and moral condition, thy happiness or thy woe, will be fixed forever. Repent of thy transgressions; bring all the burden of thy sins and cast it at the feet of Jesus. "Behold the Lamb of God who taketh away the sin of the world." Wash thy polluted garments in the blood of his atonement; and cease to restrain the influence of his Holy Spirit. Embrace, in good earnest, the faith, the hope, and the virtue of the Christian, and live forever!

Reader, if thou hast already made covenant with the Lord, to be his child and servant—if though hast already been taught of the Spirit to love him who first

loved thee—*persevere*. Fight the good fight of faith, and lay hold on eternal life; go forward on thy march towards Zion; give thyself wholly to the disposal of Him who died for thee and rose again; count nothing too near or too dear to part with for his name's sake; follow the guidance of the Comforter in all things; watch unto prayer; be humble, be faithful, be diligent; and *all will be well*. Christ will continue to be thy all-sufficient portion here; and soon, very soon, it will be thy blessed lot to exchange his cross on earth for a crown of righteousness in heaven, immortal, incorruptible and full of glory.

J. J. GURNEY.

From the Advocate and Guardian.

HINTS TO PROMOTE HARMONY IN A FAMILY.

1. We may be quite sure that our will is likely to be crossed in the day, so prepare for it.
2. Everybody in the house has an evil nature as well as ourselves, and therefore we are not to expect too much.
3. To learn the different temper of each individual.
4. To look upon each other member of the family as one for whom Christ died.
5. When any good happens to any one, to rejoice at it.
6. When inclined to give an angry answer, to lift up the heart in prayer.
7. If from sickness, pain, or infirmity, we feel irritable, to keep a very strict watch over ourselves.
8. To observe when others are so suffering and drop a word of kindness and sympathy suited to their state.
9. To watch for little opportunities of pleasing, and to put little annoyances out of the way.
10. To take a cheerful view of everything; of the weather, &c., and encourage hope.
11. To speak kindly to the servants, and praise them for little things when you can.
12. In all little pleasures which may occur, to put self last.
13. To try for "the soft answer that turneth away wrath."
14. When we have been pained by an unkind word or deed, to ask ourselves, "Have I not often done the same and been forgiven?"
15. In conversation, not to exalt ourselves, but bring others forward.
16. To be very gentle with the younger ones, and treat them with respect, remembering that we were once young too.
17. Never to judge one another, but attribute a good motive when we can.
18. To compare our manifold blessings with the trifling annoyances of the day.

THE NON-SLAVEHOLDER.

PHILADELPHIA, THIRD MONTH, 2, 1853.

As this humble periodical is not conducted with a view to emolument, in funds or in fame, it would be a cheerless task without the prospect of our object being in some degree attained. Our aim is to strengthen the tie of human brotherhood; to waken dormant sympathies, and to stimulate those in danger of waxing cold; to encourage our readers to break off from participancy in evils which they loathe; and to remind them that, although the monster we would attack is an "abomination of desolation," and truly "standing where it ought not," yet, as George Fox was often heard to say, "God's power is over all," and it is the

province of his rational creatures to be, without assuming anything to themselves, co-workers with him, by a dutiful avoidance of whatever is contrary to his pure and perfect will. He who is truly concerned to be thus passively submissive to the Divine Will, and to do nothing against the Truth, will not be a drone in creation, but will be made, in some manner, an active agent, and an instrument in carrying out the glorious motto given from Heaven at the Messiah's advent: "Glory to God in the highest! on Earth Peace, and Good will to Men!" In a moral warfare, the greater the magnitude of the evil to be overcome, the stronger the necessity of blamelessness in the mode of attack; "Men of *clean hands* shall wax stronger and stronger." We have, it is true, inherent in ourselves, no power at all. For the removal of slavery, intemperance, war, or other evils, we can neither appoint nor even know the time or the season "which the Father hath reserved in his own power." We know that

"God doth not need
Either man's work or his own gifts,"

but is eternally all-sufficient for His own blessed purposes towards a race, which, though fallen and degraded, is to be made subservient to His glory. These considerations being devoutly arrived at, will not induce supineness. Their legitimate effect will be, a humble persistent effort at conformity to the true standard of right. The kingdom of our Lord and of His Christ is not to be established by the workings of the feverish excitement, the passionate opposition to wrong, which the writers among FRIENDS significantly style "*creaturely activity*," in contrast with that ready zeal which is the offspring of the divine Spirit, and the labor of which is "not in vain in the Lord" if pursued in that wisdom from above, which is "*first pure*, then peaceable, gentle, and easy to be entreated, full of mercy and good fruits." But, "if there first be a willing mind," we believe that there is for each one a field of labor, and an application of the Apostle's words: "God is able to make all grace abound toward you, that ye, always having all sufficiency in all things may abound to every good work."

It has been a satisfaction to us to receive words of approval and encouragement from many valued correspondents, which evince that the labors of the former Editors of this Journal have been appreciated, and have left the right impression upon the minds of their readers. We give, on another page, extracts from a few of the letters received.

We gladly make room for the communication from PENINGTON, although received by

mail after this number was nearly ready for the press. We recognize the authorship of a valued Friend, whom we have long "delighted to honor," and one who was, (if our memory serve us faithfully,) one of the Committee upon the last revision of the Discipline of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting; when the clause which he has recited was condensed more than one half, and rendered a more emphatic and stringent testimony against all who should, "*by any means encourage or countenance a traffic in Slaves.*" The next paragraph in the "Rules of Discipline of the Y. M. of Friends for Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Delaware, and the Eastern parts of Maryland," contains so righteous a testimony against the *traffic in slaves*, that we introduce it in this connection:—

"It appearing that, notwithstanding the many afflictive dispensations with which Divine wisdom has seen meet to visit this land, many of its inhabitants are so deaf to the language of the rod, as to continue in the nefarious traffic for slaves to the coasts of Africa, and that the introduction of them into the United States is, in some places, still connived at; this meeting, considering such a conduct as a bold and impious defiance of the Ruler of nations, and pregnant with the most alarming consequences to our country, earnestly recommends to the meeting for sufferings, to embrace every suitable opportunity for advancing our testimony in this respect, and for calling the attention of the public mind to this awfully interesting subject."—1786, 1787, 1806, 1834.

Other passages in the same book of Discipline provide against Members of the Society of Friends "acting as executors or administrators to estates where slaves are bequeathed," "*doing anything whereby their bondage may be prolonged.*" and directs, (after due labor for their reclamation) the excommunication of members who hire slaves and pay the compensation for their services to those who assume to be their owners, unless such payment is to be applied to their liberation. Members are earnestly desired

"to promote the instruction of the people of color, as objects of the common salvation, in the principles of the Christian religion; as well as in such branches of school learning as may fit them for freedom, and to become useful members of civil society. Also, that Friends in their several neighborhoods, advise and assist them in the education of their children, and common worldly concerns."

Another clause, referring mournfully to "the practice of enslaving mankind" as a shameful one, exhorts members

"to be no way accessory to this enormous national evil, but to discourage it by all the justifiable means in their power; it being obvious that wherever it prevails, it tends to corrupt the morals of the people, so as not only to render them obnoxious to the displeasure of the Almighty, but deaf to his warnings, and insensible and regardless of his impending judgments."

JOHN CANDLER.—We noticed, on page 7, the Anti-Slavery mission to Brazil of our beloved friends John

and Maria Candler and Wilson Burgess. A Friend in England writes, under date of 1st Mo. 20th:—

"We have information of the arrival of our dear friends John and Maria Candler from Brazil. Their mission appears to have answered its purpose. They were well received by the Emperor, who expressed his wish to see the slave trade abolished every where. They had interviews with many of the principal inhabitants, and the general feeling appeared to accord with that of the Emperor. Their address was introduced into the principal newspapers, and they met a society who have for their object the abolition of the trade."

RICHARD NEAL'S ABDUCTION.—When a case of this sort has filled a large space in most of the daily and many of the weekly journals, we may fairly conclude that it has come to the knowledge of our readers. To do full justice to the outrage now before us, would more than fill a whole number of the Non-Slaveholder, and the character of our present engagements precludes our making such a condensation as will be satisfactory to ourselves. We find Richard, on fourth day morning, the 25th of 1st month, "with good will doing service" in the stable of his employer, our esteemed friend Townsend Sharpless, of Philadelphia, whose confidence and generous kindness he had secured by a course of good conduct. He is called to the stable door, on a treacherous pretence of business, and, on presenting himself, is arrested by two persons claiming authority as officers. This wicked and cowardly deed was done so secretly as to be unknown to the family for some hours. He was hurried in a carriage to Chester, whence he was to be despatched to Baltimore in the night train. Leaving him there, in the custody of cruel men, and in an agony of suspense, we will give a few leading facts of his previous history. He was held as property by James Cheston, of Maryland, a benevolent man who, whilst his judgment on the Slavery question appears to have been a mistaken one, was a humane master, and anxious to provide for the welfare of his laborers; as may be seen by these words from his will:

"I commit my servants to my sons; not as property, but that they may make such disposition of them as shall most conduce to the benefit of said slaves."

This will, through defect of evidence, could not be admitted to probate, but the heirs, true to the instincts of humanity, and to the dictates of "higher law," executed papers of manumission. Richard fell to the share of Dr. Caspar Morris, who promptly liberated him; but his wife and children (having no connection with the Cheston Estate), were held as slaves by a certain Isaac Mayo (who has, prefixed to his name, a *title* which signifies his connection with Slavery's unlovely sister, WAR.) Richard, after a while, removed to

Philadelphia, where he labored for the means of emancipating his family. At length, without his connivance, (though we are far from regarding such connivance as anti-republican or anti-christian) the wife and children, desperate from their experiences of the workings of the "peculiar institution" as carried on by "Patriarch" Mayo, absconded, were recaptured, were sold by Mayo (whose ownership or whose right to sell them was, as we opine, no stronger than that of any of our readers) and, through the kindly efforts of Dr. Morris and others, were purchased for liberation at a cost of more than \$3000. He engaged himself, as coachman, with T. Sharpless, and has, in his employ, as heretofore, sustained a reputation more enviable than that of *Commodore Mayo*. This Mayo, after a lapse of years, resolved to charge Neal with having aided the escape from grievous oppression of her to whom he had promised love and faithfulness till death, and of the children whom God had given to him, and had not given to Isaac Mayo. Of this conjugal and paternal aid Neal has however established his innocence:—but Mayo, on the testimony of one of his slaves, obtained, from the Gov. of Maryland, a requisition which was readily responded to by a warrant from Gov. Bigler, whose zeal for the re-introduction of Slavery will, we presume, be appreciated, rather than respected at the South. That Gov. Bigler is much to blame in this case, appears certain. Whether his error extended deeper than carelessness, we care not to enquire. His pro-slavery message has made a blot upon his name, which must be washed out, before *this one* will be very conspicuous. A small blot, however dark, is not so much noticed upon a greater one of the same hue. A writ of *habeas corpus* was obtained, and an officer, with two citizens, proceeded with it to Chester, having no certain knowledge that they were upon the right track. "Unarmed," says Dr. Morris, "except in that divine panoply in which 'he is thrice armed who has his quarrel just,' they reached Chester just in time to prevent, by the interposition of this writ, the further abduction of Richard." It was now nearly midnight, and the emissaries of slavery might have said in their hearts, "Surely the darkness shall cover me." They were waiting to enter the cars as the messengers of mercy and deliverance landed. The writ was read, but was disregarded. The two friends of humanity held the arms of the intended victim. The representatives of the adage "*might makes right*," also seized and strove to drag him toward the train. The whole time for stopping at the station was five minutes. "Michael and his angels fought, and the Dragon fought and his angels." "It

became" (to quote the Pa. Freeman,) "a question of muscular strength." The kidnapper was frantic in his puny wrath, as the engine whistled shrilly, and the "iron courser," breathing out a long train of something which looked like *fiery indignation*, rushed onward with a lumbering noise which was no sweet music to the ears of Mayo. "To feel that one has sold himself to the enemy," says Whittier, "is no pleasant matter, but to mourn over the loss of the purchase money is still worse." Is it a dream? Does Satan leave his allies in the lurch, at the very moment of their extremity? Is it really the departing train after which Mayo's dilated optics strain? He became ridiculous in his fury. "I WILL GIVE A HUNDRED DOLLARS IF THE CARS WILL STOP ONE MOMENT!" In vain! There is something very impeccable in steam. A steam engine has what is called a governor, but we never heard of its accepting a bribe. Save thy hundred dollars, Isaac Mayo, thou mayest need them yet! Richard Neal, with his enemies and his friends, were still in the land of Penn. Said we that Satan had *left* his minions in the lurch? Nay, he was still present with them, as they evinced by murderous menaces, and gestures of assault. One of the friends of Richard received, through his coat, under his arm, a cowardly stab from behind, but was unhurt, and, "armed strong in innocence," they demeaned themselves with a calm heroism, indicative of so good a cause. Next day, Richard was by legal process removed to Philadelphia, where he was imprisoned for trial, and, after some unwarrantable detention, and several hearings of the case, the warrant of William Bigler being withdrawn, and the parties to the arrest finally failing to appear, Richard Neal was discharged; and although he has been deeply wronged, he is somewhat complacent in the reflection, that even at the South, where dark skin is at a discount, he kept better company than did the Commodore.

A KIDNAPPER UNDER ORDERS TO SUPPRESS KIDNAPPING.—The cause of the absence of Isaac Mayo from the proceedings before the Supreme Court in the case of Neal, was stated thus: "*He is under sailing orders in the African squadron.*" There is a very trite adage which is severely applicable.

The case of Neal has excited some attention in the Senate of Pennsylvania; and he has entered complaint for violent assault and battery, against Charles Tapper, one of the Marshal's police, who was held in \$500 bail.

CHARLES WESLEY—It is sickening to keep "posted up" respecting the continually occur-

ring cases of wrong and outrage. Charles Wesley, a boy "held to service" till he should attain the age of 21 years, escaped from Delaware, was re-captured at Philadelphia, and delivered to the oppressors. "At the final hearing of the case," says the Freeman, "the Bulletin reports the following as a touching little episode between the calling of the case and its conclusion"—

"A colored man, of modest demeanor, and considerable intelligence, but evidently an enthusiast, arose and asked permission to say a few words. Permission was granted him by the Commissioner.

He began as follows: I feel impelled by the spirit of the Lord to speak in this case. I do not claim to represent Him, but His Spirit, which dwelleth within me. I came here to raise my voice in behalf of the oppressed. I feel that I can exercise little power over men's actions, because I am one of the oppressed. I can only pray that a scratch of the pen will not be given to paper against the oppressed. If it shall be done, *woe* will come to every one concerned in it, for the army of the oppressed is now led on by the Lord in person. That same mighty Power which led your armies under Washington, when you were oppressed, now heads ours. Therefore, I say again, *Woe! Woe!* if you add to your oppressions!

These words were uttered in a plaintive tone of voice, and with much emotion. They had a very visible effect upon every one present, and the strictest decorum was manifested by every one present throughout the whole hearing of the case."

A SIGNIFICANT FACT.—Although several hundred persons died of cholera in Rochester during the past summer, it is stated by the Rochester Journal that not one of the members of the different Temperance societies in that city was included in the number.—*Philadelphia Sun*.

Statistics like these are worthy to be quoted, though not in presumption: not to inspire in the man who obeys the laws of his physical nature an overweening confidence in his hold upon life; but to extend to others the caution which Paul gave to the jailor, "DO THYSELF NO HARM."

PROHIBITORY LIQUOR LAW IN N. JERSEY.

It is to be:—but when? A talented correspondent under date of the 8th ult. playfully, and not very reverently, writes us from Trenton—"To-day our bill is to be presented in the Legislature. Ah! what a *slow* shell-full of *snails* is this present jorum of 'wooden-heads!' They will *perhaps* find out *ten years* after their adjournment, what it was that God and Humanity asked of them. 'Wae's me!'" The bill was reported: attempts were made by puzzled Politicians to maim it by treacherous amendments;—but the final action will be after this number is in type. Some members are thoroughly right: others most sincerely desire to do what will be most popular. Let them make THE RIGHT their standard, and they need not waver.

LITERARY NOTICES.

LIFE OF ELIZABETH FRY, BY SUSANNA CORDER. London pp. 600, 8vo.—We find by the *London Friend*, that this work is in the press. It is there stated to "merit a place in the library of every Friends' family." We need no words of commendation, as the name of the beloved Friend who has undertaken (at the request of the relatives of Elizabeth Fry) this labor of love, prepares us for the sentiment expressed, that she has "executed her task with great judgment, and

with a fine and true appreciation of the subject of her memoir."

THE CHAPEL OF THE HERMITS, and other Poems, by JOHN G. WHITTIER. Boston: Ticknor, Reed & Fields. pp. 118.

"Whittier is certainly one of our greatest poets! The terminations of some of his lines sound like thunder!" Thus exclaimed the venerable Christian patriarch John Cox, on the appearance of the first authorized collection of his poems. From such a man, (as know all those who knew him,) words of praise were high praise: for he belonged to the select class of gifted spirits "whose verdict is prophecy, and whose applause is fame." But there were many minds, and minds of power, too, but unfortunately conservative, aristocratic, cold, and with a strong yet unconscious proclivity to expedientism, who could not perceive Whittier's full dimensions, until a waste of evidence was forced upon their notice—until, in sooth, a recognition of his greatness came to them, from quarters where "fanaticism" was not deemed to exist. Such as these would, at times, condescendingly lessen him by very faint and haughty praise; yet somehow his fame spread without their aid, and ten thousand intellects were influenced, and, to a considerable extent, moulded by his wizzard spell. It is no idle boast, but literal fact, which his soul is made to speak in that glorious poem, "MY SOUL AND I:"

"I have wrestled stoutly with the Wrong,
And borne the Right
From beneath the foot-fall of the throng
To life and light.
Wherever Freedom shivered a chain,
God speed, quoth I;
To Error amidst her shouting train
I gave the lie."

When the first *unauthorised* collection of his verse came forth in humble guise, a rustic, uneducated back-woodsman, as he listened to page after page, walked the floor with rapid strides, till, filled with just appreciation of the sentiments which had been given to the generations that should walk the earth, he enthusiastically exclaimed: "I tell you what! THAT WORK WILL BE A TEXT BOOK OF LIBERTY IN AFTER AGES!" This unlettered man was a better critic than the learned cynic or the wise expedientist. Whittier is now in "life's mid span;" though, alas, with health enfeebled, and "overworn at noonday," he has too good reason to call himself

"A tired on-looker through the day's decline."
And yet few bards ever accomplished so much in their own life time. He has impressed the popular mind of his country; he has given forth couplets and stanzas which are already incorporated with the language; and we can

scarcely open a literary, philanthropic or even political journal which is in the least degree tinged with the idea of reform and human progress, without meeting passages from the Poet of Amesbury. Scattered through his voluminous works, we find some literary blemishes, as in Burns; some carelessness in grammar; Yankeeisms not a few; but he is a glorious bard, and as Poet of humanity he has not a living peer. Like Bacon, he may well trust his fame with "TIMES SUCCEEDING;"—like him, he can afford to "leave his name and his memory to foreign nations, and to his own countrymen, after some time be passed over."

From the volume before us we will not make selections in the present number. We have little sympathy with the taste of him who, knowing that a new volume by John Greenleaf Whittier has been issued, would not desire to possess it, and who would not, if needs be, almost sell his garment to buy one.

In the press, and will shortly be published; "THE AMERICAN SLAVE CODE, in Theory and Practice: its distinctive features shown by its Statutes, Judicial Decisions, and Illustrative Facts." By WILLIAM GOODELL, author of the "Democracy of Christianity," "Slavery and Anti-Slavery," &c. New York: American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, 48 Beekman street. This work will contain above 400 pages, 12mo, neatly bound in cloth, and will be sold for cash at 75 cents the single copy, \$6 per dozen, and \$45 per hundred.—Also, in paper covers, at a deduction of 10 cents per copy from the above prices.

Orders may be forwarded to LEWIS TAPPAN, 48 Beekman street, New York.

The following is an extract from a letter addressed by Judge Jay to the author—

Your analysis of the slave laws is very able, and your exhibition of their practical application by the Southern Courts, evinces great and careful research." "Your book is as impregnable against the charge of exaggeration as Euclid's Geometry, since, like that, it consists of propositions and demonstrations. The book is not only true, but it is unquestionably true."

We annex the table of contents, by which our readers may perceive the important range of subject matter.

PRELIMINARY CHAPTER.

Part I.—The Relation of Master and Slave.

Chap. 1. Slave Ownership; 2. Slave Traffic; 3. Seizure of Slave Property for Debt; 4. Inheritance of Slave Property; 5. Uses of Slave Property; 6. Slaves can possess nothing; 7. Slaves cannot Marry; 8. Slaves cannot constitute Families; 9. Unlimited Power of Slaveholders; 10. Labor of Slaves; 11. Food, Clothing, and Dwellings of Slaves; 12. Coerced Labor without Wages; 13. Punishments of Slaves by the Owner and Hired; 14. Of Laws concerning the Murder and Killing of Slaves; 15. Of the Delegated Power of Overseers; 16. Of the Protection of Slave Property from Damage by Assaults from other Persons than their Owners; 17. Facts Illustrating the Kind and Degree of Protection Extended to Slaves; 18. Fugitives from Slavery; 19.

The Slave cannot sue his Master; 20. No Power of Self-Redemption or Change of Masters; 21. The Relation Hereditary and Perpetual; 22. Rights to Education—Religious Liberty—Rights of Conscience; 23. Origin of the Relation and its Subjects.

Part II.—Relation of the Slave to Society and to Civil Government.

Chap. 1. Of the Ground and Nature of the Slave's Civil Condition; 2. No access to the Judiciary, and no honest Provision for testing the Claims of the Enslaved to Freedom; 3. Rejection of Testimony of Slaves and Free Colored Persons; 4. Subjection to all White Persons; 5. Penal Laws against Slaves; 6. Education Prohibited; 7. Free Social Worship and Religious Instruction Prohibited; 8. Legislative, Judicial, and Constitutional Obstructions to Emancipation.

Part. III.—Relation of the Slave Code to the Liberties of the Free.

Chap. 1. Liberties of the Free People of Color; 2. Liberties of the White People of the Slaveholding States; 3. Liberties of the White People of the Non-Slaveholding States; Concluding Chapter.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.—Several communications are too late for examination in reference to the present number. It is always desirable that essays designed for insertion, be accompanied by the name of the writer. Our paper is small. A talented correspondent writes us: "It bids fair to be interesting: that is very important: do not let it be heavy." With this view, we desire each month to present due variety,—which can hardly be done if essays should be prolonged to treatises. Our friends are invited to practice the virtue of condensation. It will benefit their style and save room, if they will express their thoughts without redundant words. The motto is a good one; "Long or short, still hasten to a close." One unknown friend asks us to condense, and alter freely, a closely written article, which would fill two pages of the Non-Slaveholder. To do this without risk of injustice to the writer, would consume much more time than to pen the same amount of original matter. We hope that contributors will be amiable if we sometimes seem to slight their favors. We may have reasons for omitting essays which we value, and if we err in our judgment, it should be remembered that we are at times too much harrassed to bring our judgment fully to bear.

ERRATUM.—Page 8, (No. 1) for "comparatively" read "incomparably."

NEW FREE LABOR GOODS.

JUST RECEIVED at the Philadelphia Free Produce Store, N. W. corner 5th and Cherry Sts. viz:

40 inch Manchester Gingham,
Fancy do.
Furniture do.

Plaid Muslins; Cord Check Muslins; Pantaloon Stuffs; Heavy Brown Muslins.

GEORGE W. TAYLOR.

[We would refer our readers to advertisements of Free Produce Stores in our previous numbers, and ask them, for the sake of the testimony, to give their patronage where it will tell in behalf of the slave.

Printed at the Gazette Office, Burlington, N. J.

THE NON-SLAVEHOLDER.

"Whoso gives the motive, makes his brother's sin his own."

VOL. I.—NEW SERIES.]

PHILADELPHIA, FOURTH MONTH, 1853.

[No. 4.]

WILLIAM J. ALLINSON, EDITOR.

PUBLISHED MONTHLY

BY GEORGE W. TAYLOR,

North West Corner of Fifth and Cherry Streets,
PHILADELPHIA.

Price of one copy, . . . FIFTY CENTS.

" of three copies, . . . ONE DOLLAR.

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All subscriptions and business letters to be sent to the Publisher, in Philadelphia.

Exchange papers and communications for insertion should be addressed, "Non-Slaveholder, Burlington, N. J." (the residence of the Editor.)

Passages from our Correspondence.

[Continued from page 18.]

A valued correspondent in Pennsylvania, in a letter not designed for publication, makes the following suggestions, which we prefer to give in his own words.

"At some time, I should wish to see exposed in the Non-Slaveholder, in a kind yet truthful manner, the great danger, if not great sinfulness, and sometimes the great untruthfulness, of pleading a want of light from the Holy Spirit, in justification of any practice shown to be immoral by sheer common sense and convictions of the natural mind. The persons who, continuing in a course which their reason condemns, professedly wait for a higher illumination, may reasonably expect to receive it when the admonition shall cease to be true, 'They have Moses and the Prophets; let them hear them. If they hear not Moses and the Prophets, neither will they be persuaded though one rose from the dead.' To run behind the Holy Spirit as a cover for indulgences, is, at the best, highly irreverent; and if not 'a sin unto death,' yet we may well conclude, is a sin which continued in will, by its death-doing consequences, materially impair our moral and religious well-being.

The plea adverted to, though not a true result of the doctrine of Friends, is almost peculiar to members of that society. The latter circumstance may render the discussion of it in a public journal, somewhat difficult, though not the less needful if Truth demands it.

Whilst Friends certainly believe that "the manifestation of the Spirit is given to every man to profit withal," it by no means belongs to their principles to reject the assistance of the natural powers in the exploration of moral and practical religious truths. They ordinarily reason "of righteousness, temperance, and judgment to come," as do other christians—perhaps with better success in some respects than they—yet after the same manner; and they claim the work of their great apologist to be an unanswerable *argument*. They reason of all the affairs of life; and they hold themselves bound

to give an *answer* to every man that asketh a *reason* of the hope that is in them. In treating with offenders, they admit of no plea of their wanting super-human light, though they crave it for them.

I offer these notes with the hope of drawing thy attention to the important subject—believing it could be more advantageously treated of, editorially, should the way open in thy mind so to do, than by a mere communication."

RICHMOND CO., MAINE.—(With eight subscriptions.)—"We have felt for some time that the cause is good, and that we cannot be justified in using slave labor goods. The subject is increasingly one of serious inquiry this way, and we hope the day is not very distant when all Friends will feel bound to cast their mite of influence into the available scale."

MONKTON, VERMONT.—[With \$3.00, making, with a previous order, 16 subscriptions to one address.]—"While soliciting subscribers for the Non-Slaveholder, I am asked, in reference to the plan of operation against Slavery therein advocated, 'What good will it do?' To which I generally answer, that I apprehend it will do an amount of good, fairly corresponding with any other testimony faithfully and consistently borne against any other evil. Friends are advised in the discipline of New York Yearly Meeting 'not to unite with any, directly or indirectly, in a way calculated to promote the spirit of war, or which may encourage or strengthen them therein; to avoid engaging in any business tending to promote war, underwriting on armed vessels, or being concerned in any company where such insurance is made, or in shipping or ordering goods shipped in armed vessels.' They are thus advised, not so much from a belief that their testimony against it will be the means of bringing it to an end, as from a deep-rooted conviction, that as war is in itself absolutely at variance with Christian principle, Christians must not implicate themselves with it. Friends, in this view, refuse to speak well of it, voluntarily to sustain it, or to make money by it; and in this manner no inconsiderable amount of testimony against war has been borne. Still, though war has not come to an end, their testimony against it is as much required of them as ever. And so with Slavery. 'Friends are advised to avoid any act by which the right of Slavery is acknowledged.' Their testimony against it springs from the same root—its incompatibility with Christianity; hence, too, the necessity for a *faithful* and *consistent* testimony, and when they have become in earnest, in refusing their voluntary aid, by word or deed, in support of it; declining emoluments through any connection with it, *then* our testimony against Slavery may be regarded as *par* with our testimony against war.

Such objectors mostly lose sight of the question, "where is the foundation for my *right* to use the fruit of another man's labor, without his recompense or consent?" Others who unite with the sentiment so happily expressed in the motto of the N. Slaveholder, require an assurance that they *can* obtain, "bona fide," the free labor productions for which they pay. To such it is not always sufficient to say,—"I have confidence in the integrity of those, through whom the goods have come." The confidence so much to be desired, might be sensibly increased in them, were they in possession of the information thou couldst give them of the "business channel," through which the cotton,

in particular, has passed from the plantation of the free man to the wholesale merchant in Philadelphia, or elsewhere.

The Anti-Liquor Law has passed the ordeal of the ballot-box, and we hope to see it in operation in due season. There has been much well expended labor expended in its favor, and, as a matter of course, a corresponding amount of opposition, but far less disturbance of the public quiet, than one would anticipate in such a struggle between *principle* and *appetite*, combined with selfish interest. Surely, it may be accepted by the friends of "progress," as proof that they are laboring in a right cause, and in a right spirit. It is greatly to be desired that the law may find calm and faithful administrators, and that other States may be encouraged to follow the example.

H. M.

AN ENGLISH FRIEND, WRITES:—"How do your American ladies feel generally, respecting our 'affectionate address' about Slavery. They have published at New York a very ill-natured 'reply,' with too much of truth in it: but a considerable portion of it is *not true*. The condition of our poorer classes here and in Ireland, is very much improved and improving. And, after all, they are *free* and many of them *happy* in rags and in dirt,—for they cannot be torn from those whom they love, nor beaten, nor assaulted, nor abused with impunity."

"I'VE QUIT SMOKING IT."

[The Anti-Slavery Reporter has a narrative of David Holmes,, a fugitive slave from Mecklenburg Co., Virginia, extremely interesting in its detail, but much too long for the Non-Slaveholder. David is safe in the British dominions. We extract the concluding portion of the narrative, commencing with a conversation, which took place between him and the Editor of the Reporter, on the 3d day of last 12th month.—En.]

"And so you smoke tobacco, David."

"Yes, Sir. I've smoke it ever since I was that high," indicating by a sign, the height of a little boy of eight or ten years old.

"Did it ever occur to you, David, where and how that tobacco is grown?"

"Well, we raised a lot in Virginia."

"Yes: where you were a slave, and where you have left many of your brethren in slavery."

"Yes, Sir."

"What do you think becomes of all the tobacco, and cotton, and sugar, and rice, that is grown by slaves, David?"

"I guess it's a good deal of it sold: most all I should say."

"Well don't you see how 'the buyer, the consumers of slave-produce,' help to keep up slavery? It is because the slave-owners find a market for the products of their slaves' labour that they keep them in slavery. You smoke tobacco. That tobacco has been grown by a slave: perhaps by some one you know. But if there were no one to buy it when it was grown, what use would there be in growing it?"

"I see that, Sir. I never thought of that before."

"Well, David, now you have it before you, turn it over in your mind, and next time you come, let me hear what you think about it?"

And so David went away, very much perplexed, but evidently pondering. In about twelve days, he came again. He had procured a situation as fire-man on board a West-India steamer, at fifty shillings a month wages. He came to thank us, and to tell us how he meant to do his best to keep his place: how he intended to learn to read and write: how he should try to get a better place, and to save money, and be "like a white man."

"And how about the tobacco, David?" said we.

"It's very hard Sir," he said; "I can't a'most do at all. I've been used to it so long."

"Yes, David. I'm sure what you say is true. But I'm asking what you think about—you know—smoking tobacco that is grown by slaves."

"Well, Sir, I do think it's right down wicked; raley now."

"I'm glad to hear you say so, David. And what do you think then you ought to do?"

"I can't say I'm sure, Sir. But I'll tell you what I have done."

"What's that David?"

"I—I've—I've quit' smoking it," sobbed David, but with such a brightened countenance, that we felt it had been with him a conscientious act.

And we believe David Holmes will keep his word.

We have related this anecdote to several of our friends, amateurs of the Nicotian weed, who have since renounced Cuban and Virginian and such kinds of tobacco, for Turkish and other sorts that are untainted with slavery.

When the physician walks with an anxious tread about the bed of his patient; when all his skill and energy are put forth to relieve and save the sufferer; does not this tell us that he fears dissolution? Do we not read the fate of the expiring man in the anxious countenances of his friends, in the thoughtful and despairing look of the physician? And such is the case with American Slavery. Its friends are every where guarding it with even maternal solicitude; statesmen watch about its dying bed with an anxiety that betokens the intensity of their fears; doctors of divinity gather around the scene, and offer up their prayers for its restoration to health; but, alas! the hurried step, the trembling hand, the multitude of physicians and the earnest inquiries, all proclaim that the disease is mortal.

WHITTIER.

From "The Slave—his wrongs and the remedy."

THE REMEDY.

In our former numbers, we have considered the Free Labour in *its moral influence on the slave-holder*. If the world might but behold the spectacle of a great nation, its quays piled with the rich products of slave regions, yet refusing to enjoy them—the sugar of the Spanish West Indies—the coffee and cocoa of Brazil—the rice and cotton of America—all this heaped in profusion on the strand of Britain, and British hearts turning from it with loathing—British hands stamping this produce of slavery with the brand of public reprobation, and then refusing to touch, taste, or handle it, as an unclean thing—if such a spectacle were happily exhibited; were any considerable fraction of our people to unite in this practical process against slavery, the slaveholder would be compelled to ponder his position; he could hardly fail to have his eyes opened to the fact, that there must be some intrinsic heinousness in a system of which Christian men thus repudiated the fruits.

But there is another point of view in which we are desirous to have this movement considered, viz., *its influence on ourselves*. We are exhorted in Scripture to "consider those that are in bonds as bound with them;" and surely nothing is more likely to furnish us with a perpetual remembrance of the slave, than the principle which refuses to participate in the blood-stained produce of his toil. Those who have adopted this principle, have the wrongs of their sable brethren brought vividly before them from day to day. Seated at the breakfast table, the aromatic odours of the coffee-pot

bring to their remembrance the claims of the negro—the rice which so often accompanies their mid-day meal, carries them off in thought to the swamps of Carolina, where slave-women are pursuing their killing drudgery—and when the curtains are drawn, and the hissing urn summons them to the social pleasures of the tea-table, the sparkling sugar again implores them to “remember them that are in bonds.” Nor are the wardrobes of abstainers less eloquent of suggestions for the relief of torn and bleeding humanity. In drawing on a stocking, or adjusting a frock, they are reminded to seek their own comforts without destroying the happiness of others; they are again silently, but impressively exhorted to “remember them that are in bonds.” It was a beautiful thought of ELIOT BURKITT’S, when he compared the children of an anti-slavery household to the African squadron for the suppression of the slave-trade. And surely the comparison holds good, though the former operate by more Christian means. *Think of the sweet little cherubs cruising round the table, watching, with keen-eyed vigilance, lest any product of the blood-stained system should evade their righteous blockade; or standing sentry over the wardrobe, and challenging every article of clothing that seeks admission to its shelves! Establish such a blockade as this in Europe, and the African squadron would be soon dismantled; for the moral influence of such a warfare would be far more potent than that of shot and cutlass.*

It is an axiom in moral science, that to excite the feelings by repeated tales of woe, without affording the opportunity for corresponding action for its relief, is liable to induce a morbid state of mind, and does more harm than good. This is the great objection to many works of fiction, which harrow up the soul by tales of imaginary suffering, that cannot be reached. We fear the advocacy of the anti-slavery cause is too often liable to this imputation. Our feelings are worked upon by the description of scenes of horror, unhappily too real; but we are not pointed sufficiently to any practical method of obviating the suffering which we deplore. The free-labour movement supplies this desideratum. It points to a field in which none need be idle, and where even the feeble child may labour with effect. Here then surely is another reason why the friends of the slave should be the patrons of free-labour. The sacrifice it involves is but small in money-value, so small, indeed, that it must be estimated in fractions; but it does involve some sacrifice of thought, some consideration for the rights of others, and a little trouble not to trench upon their happiness. We reverently believe that such a sacrifice, made in a right spirit, and with an eye to the glory of God and the good of our fellow creatures, will not be in vain; but that, while others are blessed through our humble instrumentality, we shall be well repaid with the peaceful satisfaction of having done what we could.

As Harts, o’er dreary mountains chased,
Pant for the water brooks below,
So should we ever thirst to taste
Those which from Mercy’s fountains flow,
Nor shall they disappointed be,
Who, leaving Earth’s delusive heights,
Convert, in humble trust, to thee
Oh well-spring of unmixed delights,

GEORGE DILLWYN.

A MAGNANIMOUS MEMORIAL.

“To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled:

The memorial of the undersigned, citizens of Pennsylvania, respectfully represents; That they regard the existence of slavery in the Southern States of this Union as injurious to the prosperity of the nation, destructive to the harmony of the several sections, incompatible with the great principles of liberty and the rights of man as set forth in the Declaration of Independence and the Federal Constitution, and eminently calculated to retard the progress of those principles amongst other nations;—that while acknowledging that their right of direct legislation for the abolition of slavery rests exclusively in the people of the Southern States, your memorialists yet believe that inasmuch as the citizens of the Free States, through their commercial relations with the South, participate in the profits of Slave labor, and have thus become partners with the Slave-holders in the great business of Slavery, it is the duty of the National Government, whenever the Southern States may be disposed to adopt legislative measures for the purpose, to aid them in establishing universal freedom. And your memorialists, therefore, respectfully, but earnestly, ask of Congress the enactment of a law which shall provide that whenever any State, by its Legislature, shall pass an act emancipating the Slaves within its limits, an assessment shall be made by Commissioners appointed under the authority of the Governor of the State, and the President of the United States, of the losses sustained by the Slave-holders individually, and the aggregate amount to be paid out of the National Treasury into the Treasury of such State for equitable distribution.

(Signed)

Samuel Rhoads,	Abm. L. Pennock,
Enoch Lewis,	Jasper Cope,
Geo. W. Taylor,	Isaac Collins,
Edward Garrett.”	

Honor to the true man ever, who takes his life in his hands, and at all hazards, speaks the word which is given him to utter, whether men will hear or forbear, whether the end thereof is to be praise or censure, gratitude or hatred.

WHITTIER.

For the Non-Slaveholder.

LEGAL PROGRESS.

The Christian Moralist, after strenuous efforts to induce legislation in accordance with what he believes to be the Divine will, often droops his head in disappointment. Yet is he sometimes cheered by unexpected changes in statutory enactments, which, though often prompted by personal sympathy or other inferior motive, tend toward a more perfect code.

Smuggling, and the varied evils arising from high tariffs of duties, act powerfully in breaking down these barriers to a brotherly reciprocity among the nations.

The voters of California were laborers; and because Slavery degraded and depreciated labor they excluded it by constitutional provision.

The recent legislature of this State, (New

Jersey) refused to enact a prohibitory liquor law, but they evinced their sense of the evils of the rum trade, by passing one to place the property of *habitual drunkards* under the care of Commissioners, as in cases of lunacy. May we not hope that, by another year, they will be sufficiently enlightened to eradicate drunkenness, by stopping the sale of intoxicating drinks?

A few years ago considerable effort was made to induce the legislature of N. Jersey to abolish *capital punishment*, and a powerful speech by G. P. Molleson it was hoped would secure it. But it failed. Public sentiment however, has advanced beyond the law, and the horror of taking human life, has so operated on juries, that, in accordance with the roused sympathies of large audiences, that they have in several instances brought in verdicts of "*insanity*," instead of "*murder in the first degree*," when the latter had been clearly proved. During the past winter a bill was passed authorizing the *Court of Pardons* to commute a sentence of death into imprisonment for ten or more years, or for life—the commuted sentence to be irrevocable. To this law it was objected that it was but the entering wedge for the abolition of capital punishment; that sympathies would be excited in the Court of Pardons in behalf of every man convicted of murder, and that no one, however guilty, would be executed. The opposition was strenuous, but the bill passed 37 to 18. Four days after it became a law, the life of a poor unhappy man who had murdered an acquaintance in a fit of intoxication, was saved by its operation!

Light *does* advance—will advance! "There's a good time coming!" S. A.

For the Non-Slaveholder. FREE PRODUCE.

The Society of Friends has taken the lead of all other religious societies, in bearing a testimony against Slavery. It has long since, by its discipline, declared that no member can be a slaveholder, and has continued from time to time, to publish to the world its views and principles on the subject. But while, as a society, we are holding up to view such a noble standard, are we not, individually, countenancing and supporting by the free use of its products, the very system which we publicly condemn? After taking such a noble stand against slave-holding as to clear ourselves from its reproach, have we not too much settled down at ease, as if all that was necessary had been accomplished? While slavery continues, I believe it will be required of the members of the society of Friends, to continue to bear testimony against it; and I know of no way to do so more effectually, than to abstain from the use of its products.

Our public declarations are less effectual, from the fact, that individually, our hands are not clean. We must acknowledge that the beam is in our own eye, as long as we continue to buy and use the products of slavery; then how can we see clearly to cast mote or beam out of our brother's eye? I rejoice to believe however, that there is an increasing interest felt on this subject, and that there is a more general desire among

our members, to procure and use, the products of free labor. But there are so many difficulties in the way, that many cannot conveniently accomplish what they desire. Our members are scattered over a wide extent of country, and the places for obtaining free goods are few, and far between.

In advancing the standard as far as it has been done, much labor has necessarily been performed; and in carrying it forward, much labor will be required, and a unity of action is necessary. I am willing therefore, to suggest the propriety, and necessity, for Friends, in every neighborhood, or meeting, to form themselves into an association for the promotion of this desirable object. They can thus devise ways and means for doing collectively, what cannot be done individually. By uniting their orders, and appointing one agent to obtain their goods, the difficulties that have heretofore been in the way, will be much lessened, and but small excuse left for inaction.

I believe that all we say, or write, or publish, on this subject, will be of little avail without action, and I am also aware of the necessity of a right concern, to produce the right kind of action; yet I think we are generally convinced of its propriety, but need to be often reminded of our duty, as a stimulant to its performance. Individual faithfulness on the part of our members, would again place our society in its true position, in regard to the important subject of slavery. W.

[We have no idea, (nor do we attribute such view to our correspondent,) of urging the plan of abstinence from Slave Produce as binding merely upon *Friends*. We wish to show to all candid men and women, that our principle is a true one, and then, by the universal brotherhood of man, and by the fatherhood of God, we would exhort *all members of the family* who perceive the right, to *act it out*. We dearly love the Society of Friends, and we wish its standard to be always pure, and always faithfully elevated. But we do not conduct this Journal from any view which is restricted by sectarian limits. "Let every one that nameth the name of Christ, depart from iniquity." Ed.]

THE NON-SLAVEHOLDER.

PHILADELPHIA, FOURTH MONTH, 6, 1853.

RUNNING BEHIND THE HOLY SPIRIT AS A COVER FOR INDULGENCES. The remarks upon this subject, on our first page, under the caption of "Passages from our correspondence," are from a Friend, whose consistency of life and weight of character entitle him to a candid hearing. The theme is indeed a delicate one for "discussion in a public Journal." We do not intend to make, or to admit into the Non-Slaveholder, attacks upon religious societies, much less upon the one, whose principles and whose members are unspeakably dear to us. But we agree with our correspondent that the "plea" which he exposes is no "true result of the doctrine of Friends." A belief in the unspeakable gift of the Holy Spirit which illuminates the mind and conscience of man, and which, if fully received, will lead into all Truth, is essential to theological sound-

ness. But if such belief be made a pretext for rejecting ordinary and valid evidence and argument,—if any willfully remain in *known error* under plea of waiting for a spiritual guidance into Truth,—if, with sight and light sufficient to perceive a moral enormity, any refuse to admit it to be such, on the pretension that they must have first a spiritual revelation, *we do not hesitate to say, that there is no Quakerism in such a position.* We think it no unfriendly act to administer to those who are snared with such delusion, a fraternal hint that they are not *fairly carrying out* the great and precious doctrine which they desire to support, but that, by getting off the track, they are *running it into rantism*, the probable tendency of which would be the failure of a true belief in the doctrine itself. But of some who professedly wait for evidence, we would kindly ask,—*have they not seen?* Has it not often been evident to their understandings, that to *give the motive to the slaveholder is to be implicated in slaveholding?* Are they sure that in such perception there was no divine illumination to *help the infirmities* and the darkness of their intellects? “Whatsoever doth make manifest is light”—and “God is light”—and “of Him are all things.” When a moral position is *seen*, albeit dimly, *yet with certainty*, is there no irreverence in saying to Him that formed the eye, “give us *more* light, or we cannot recognize this truth?” “Unto the upright there ariseth light in the darkness!”

We make no charges. We would bear hardly or uncharitably on no one. The letter of our esteemed correspondent supposes the existence of a class to whom these considerations apply. To such class we commend them.

The metrical effusion, “MOVING BEFORE THE BODY,” was inserted seven years ago in the first volume of the former series. A firm supporter of the Non-Slaveholder requests its re-insertion, with which we comply, as it has also a direct bearing upon the subject treated of in the letter referred to.

PROPOSED INCENTIVE TO EMANCIPATION.

We invite the attention of our readers to the Memorial of Samuel Rhoads, Enoch Lewis, and others. We regard the suggestion as a wise one, based in magnanimity and justice. Whilst we hold the title of the Slaveholder in his slave to be utterly nought, yet it cannot be truthfully denied that the North has been partner with the South in the profit and in the guilt of the system. It is proper that we of the North should share in the sacrifice which in many cases must be made in the abolition of slavery. We do not yield an inch of our former ground. We would not justify the

Master in holding his fellow man as property for one moment, in the prospect of compensation. We believe that in many thousands of cases the *pecuniary* interest of the master would be promoted by immediate and unconditional emancipation. But we believe the sin to be a *national* one, involving the whole country in guilt; and we would gladly see a National sacrifice upon the altar of Right. Whilst we regard the Southern master as implicated directly in a great crime, (in which we are perhaps *as surely*, though *indirectly* implicated) we do not exclude him from our sympathy; nor ought we to hesitate to make any pecuniary sacrifice by which we might aid him to put away this grievous curse.

THE PROHIBITORY LIQUOR LAW IN VERMONT, has been sustained not only by an overwhelming popular vote, but also by decision of the Supreme Court of the Green Mountain State. The majority in favor of the law was 1121,—the whole vote polled being 43,500. “This decision,” says the *Christian Repository*, “embraces and sustains several of the most important principles of the Vermont Liquor Law; such as the right of *search* and *seizure* without warrant in certain cases; the right to anticipate and prevent evil in society; the right to destroy property in cases where the public good required it.”

IN NEW JERSEY, sixty thousand people petitioned for a law equivalent to that of Maine, and an Act in conformity with the wishes of the memorialists, and prepared with great care, was reported to the Legislature, but was voted down in the Assembly by a large majority.—We believe this course to have been altogether without excuse. The license system was founded in a deep sense of the evils resulting from the sale of ardent spirits as beverage, and was designed to lessen the evil by restricting it. The experience of successive generations has shown that system to be much worse than useless, and that all *restrictive* laws upon the subject are utterly futile. The people of New Jersey are convinced of this, and they asked of their Representatives in the Legislature a law which would save, even in the course of the brief time that must elapse before better men can be elected, an immense amount of property, and a vast number of human lives and probably of human souls. It would lessen greatly the pauperism, the misery, and the crime in New Jersey. And all this is well known to the men who have so grossly violated their duty. We may, and we do, look into the future with hope; trusting that a Good Providence may put it into the hearts of the citizens to elect better men who will enact better laws. But alas for

the good that has failed to be done! Alas for the loathsome crime and fearful misery which must be charged upon these legislators, who might have prevented it, but did not. Alas for the responsibility and the guilt incurred by these men who were faithfully advised and enlightened and would not obey the light! It seems to us that if they could look intelligently upon the results of their unfaithfulness, if they could see passing before them in hideous procession, all the drunkards whose reformation they have prevented, all the widows, the orphans, the criminals, the convicts, the bankrupts, the paupers who will have become such through their misdeeds; if they could behold the injured children, the maltreated wives, the premature death beds,—and hear the death howls and see the “writhings of impenitent Remorse,” as the spirit of the inebriate (unreformed through them) is passing

“unannointed, unannealed,

With all his imperfections on his head,”

out of this beautiful world, and frantic with the consciousness that the drunkard has no promise of a better;—could the members who voted with the majority see all this, surely some of them would exclaim, “it were better for us that a mill-stone were hanged about our necks, and we cast into the sea.”

GENUINENESS OF FREE LABOR GOODS.—We cheerfully respond to the request of our Monkton correspondent, though we cannot in this number afford much space to the subject. The proprietor of the Free Produce Store in Philadelphia, has a list of names of *growers of free cotton*, in MISSISSIPPI, WESTERN TENNESSEE, ALABAMA, TEXAS, and ARKANSAS. The list was furnished by our late friend NATHAN THOMAS, whose conscientiousness, shrewdness, and efficiency were beyond doubt, and who visited them on their plantations. The same stationary agents, reliable men, who were appointed years ago, are still employed. It is important to state further, that, after ascertaining the fact that these planters do not own Slaves nor hire them, they are required on delivery of the cotton to give certificates, on their affirmation, that this cotton has been raised and ginned entirely by white people, and that they neither own nor hire Slaves. It is not enough that the particular parcel of cotton in question is raised by free hands: but it must be raised by persons who employ no Slaves. Again:—no temptation to deceive is extended to the planter in the way of a premium or higher price. The extra expense of the free goods results from the cost of separate manufacture. We trust that this explanation will be entirely satisfactory. The business arrangement for pro-

curing free cotton, through all the stages from the plantation to the Wholesale Store, is completely organized. There is no deception or mistake. Let all country dealers and country consumers be equally careful in assuring themselves of the character of the produce which they procure.

STATUTIZED BUT NOT LEGALIZED.—The Legislature of Illinois has passed an unlawful law which affords a melancholy *demonstration* of the depravity of its supporters. The new Editor of the Freeman appropriately declares, that “it is a bundle of atrocities: Every section of it is a fresh outrage.” We would rather trust in the tender mercies of Feejee Islanders, than of those Legislators, who would seem to have studied carefully *what things are wicked*, that they might statutize them. We have neither space nor patience, to give even a synopsis. The authors and abettors of this loathsome iniquity will spread their own infamy, and our readers will hear of it, and will, we doubt not, join with us in craving for the perpetrators penitence and forgiveness.

JOHN GREENLEAF WHITTIER.

The Liberator in noticing the new volume of Poems by this author, to which we referred last month, uses the following language, which, as a testimonial, is all the weightier and more striking, from the fact that the Editor of that Journal, and the Bard of Amesbury, have of late years differed in their creed and their policy as Abolitionists. The impartial tribute is creditable to both parties.

“Nothing trivial or common-place comes from the pen of Whittier. He is one of the world’s noblest poets, and has done great and everlasting service to the cause of universal Freedom and Humanity. We find it difficult to say what is lacking in his poetry. Wit, humor, pathos, gentleness, energy, purity, womanly modesty and lion-hearted courage, love of the beautiful and sublime, intense abhorrence of oppression, the deepest sympathy with earth’s groaning millions, reverence for the higher law, spiritual insight, philosophical acumen, and absolute trust in God,—all these blend in the effusions of his glorious genius, and with almost faultless taste, judgment, and skill. Of the value and power of his spirit-stirring poems, in the tremendous struggle for the overthrow of slavery in this land, we know not how to speak. They have served to quicken and inspire thousands of minds, in times of imminent peril, to stand by the slave at whatever cost; and they have carried dismay into the ranks of those who are seeking to eternize the impious system of chattel servitude. No other poet has ever so allied himself to a world-wide struggle for the freedom of man as man, or uttered such flaming testimonies against the desecration of the image of God. For the last five years, his health has been growing more and more delicate, and hence his withdrawal from the active participation in that struggle, which, at an earlier period, made him so conspicuous.”

It is always cheering to perceive, in those who earnestly dissent on topics of absorbing and intense interest, a hearty appreciation and cordial acknowledgement of each other’s good points. Magnanimity is a noble trait, and certainly ought not to be dispensed with by philanthropists. We well remember the words of Whittier, when, in 1840; the separation in the anti-slavery ranks took place.

"The thing which I have greatly feared has come upon us. The original cause of the difficulty, a disposition to engraft foreign questions upon the simple stock of immediate emancipation, I early discovered, and labored to the extent of my ability to counteract. That in so doing I have been compelled to dissent from the views of some of my dearest personal friends, has been no ordinary trial to me. Whether a due degree of forbearance under injury and unmerited reproach, was manifested by those who have separated from the old American Society, I am, perhaps, not in a situation to decide. But the separation has taken place; and I can now only hope that both parties will go forward, each in its own way, steadily and without turning aside to assail each other, to promote the great and good cause to which they stand pledged before the world."

And we would commend to all who seek the welfare of the Slave and of the African race, (too many of whom have been found, to the scandal of our cause,

'Unto one another giving in the darkness blow for blow,)

the sad and pathetic outpouring of exhortation, with which five years later he called upon Abolitionists to "bury all their idle feuds in dust."

Ye with heart and vision gifted
To discern and love the right,
Whose worn faces have been lifted
To the slowly-growing light,

Where from Freedom's sunrise drifted slowly back the
murk of night!—

Ye who through long years of trial
Still have held your purpose fast,
While a lengthening shade the dial
From the westering sunshine cast,

And of hope each hour's denial seemed an echo of the
last!—

Oh, my brothers! oh, my sisters!
Would to God that ye were near,
Gazing with me down the vistas
Of a sorrow strange and drear;

Would to God that ye were listening to the Voice I
seem to hear!

With the storm above us driving,
With the false earth mined below—
Who shall marvel if thus striving
We have counted friend as foe;

Unto one another giving in the darkness blow for blow.

Well it may be that our natures
Have grown sterner and more hard,
And the freshness of their features
Somewhat harsh and battle-scarred,
And their harmonies of feeling overtaken and rudely
jarred.

Be it so. It should not swerve us
From a purpose true and brave;
Dearer Freedom's rugged service
Than the pastime of the slave;

Better is the storm above it than the quiet of the grave.

Let us then, uniting, bury
All our idle feuds in dust,
And to future conflicts carry
Mutual faith and common trust;

Always he who most forgiveth in his brother is most
just.

From the eternal Shadow rounding
All our sun and starlight here,
Voices of our lost ones sounding
Bid us be of heart and cheer,
Through the silence, down the spaces, falling on the
inward ear.

Know we not our dead are looking
Downward with a sad surprise,

All our strife of words rebuking
With their mild and loving eyes?
Shall we grieve the holy angels? Shall we cloud their
blessed skies?

Let us draw their mantles o'er us
Which have fallen in our way;
Let us do the work before us,
Cheerly, bravely, while we may,
Ere the long night-silence cometh, and with us it is
not day!

To CORRESPONDENTS.—Several favors are crowded out. The length of some excludes them. "Consistency," is in type.

LITERARY NOTICES.

SOME MEMOIRS OF THE LIFE OF JOHN ROBERTS; WRITTEN BY HIS SON, DANIEL ROBERTS. Phila.; H. Longstreth, 347 Market street. pp. 108.

This is a very neat re-print of a deservedly popular book. It ought to meet with a ready sale, for the promotion of which we cheerfully insert the PUBLISHER'S PREFACE to the present edition.

If an apology be needed for issuing a volume from the press, the Publisher is at no loss for one in the present instance. This little book has passed through frequent editions, and is now out of print. Moreover, it is one which most of those who have perused it would willingly possess. It is the simple and graphic record of one who commenced his career of manhood with the deeds of a warrior, and, literally, "with garments rolled in blood," but who, through Divine Mercy, was soon enabled to understand "a more excellent way," to enlist under the banner of the Prince of Peace, and sturdily and valiantly "to fight the good fight of Faith,"—"enduring hardness as a good soldier of Jesus Christ."

"Even Quakerism had its apostolic jokers and drab-coated Robert Halls," said an eminent Reviewer, in a parenthesis, in an incidental allusion to the subject of this Memoir; and the same writer, in another treatise, says of him, "Roberts was by no means a gloomy fanatic; he had a great deal of shrewdness and humor, loved a quiet joke; and every gambling priest and swearing magistrate in the neighborhood stood in fear of his sharp wit." There are some persons (and our friend was one of them) so constitutionally mirthful, that, even whilst steadily pursuing their heavenward way, bearing their daily cross, alive to the solemn responsibilities of existence, and surrounded by "many tribulations," they meet the fiercest assaults with a vein of pleasantry and wit, and compel the very enemies of Truth to laugh at their own errors and absurdities. Nor is it to be supposed, (though some disciples of a more sorrowing turn of mind may wonder that any one can laugh when life is so earnest and so solemn, when Heaven is to be lost or won, and the broad way is so thronged with sinners,) that temperaments such as these, are without their important uses in the economy of Providence.

"God hath many aims to compass, many messages to send, And His instruments are fitted each to some distinctive end."

And well fitted for a distinctive end, honest John appears to have been. His boldness and his ready wit often enabled him to introduce important truths in such a way that they could not be resisted or eluded. When Justice George officially and sternly undertook to let him and his friends know "that we must all be of one church," John, with ready coolness, told him that he ought then "to be well assured that it be the right church," reminding him that if he should "force a man against his conscience to conform to a wrong church," he could not in the day of account indemnify that man for so conforming. And who so well as he, could have

coped, again and again, with Bishop Nicholson, bringing him at last to beg for his forgiveness, and heartily to promise never to wrong him more? "Good old Bishop Nicholson," says Whittier, "it would seem, really liked his incorrigible Quaker neighbour, and could enjoy heartily his wit and humor, even when exercised at the expense of his own ecclesiastical dignity. He admired his blunt honesty and courage. Surrounded by flatterers and selfseekers, he found satisfaction in the company and conversation of one who, setting aside all conventionalisms, saw only in my lord Bishop a poor fellow-probationer, and addressed him on terms of conscious equality."

But though he had wit and humour always on hand for ready change, they were with him only subservient to the highest aims of an immortal soul. John Roberts was not a man of trifling or levity. He understood the idea that "cheerfulness is an acceptable hymn unto the Deity," and his heart sent up this hymn when one of a different temperament might have bewailed his lot, even in the midst of honest struggles for resignation. And the reader of our little book will find the wit to which we have referred, to be but a pleasant seasoning to strong meat and wholesome food.

For the Non-Slaveholder.

"MOVING BEFORE THE BODY."

There is a pure inspeaking voice and competent to teach,
Whose counsels if thou wisely heed, thy inmost need will reach!

There is a light—observe it well—no ignis fatuus ray—

Mistake it not—it came from Heaven and shows thy heavenward way!

And yet when light beside is given, and Duty's course is clear,

And Selfishness alone creates what obstacles appear,
By seeking miracles to teach what was already known,
Or waiting further light, were want of Faith's obedience shown.

'Twere weak, presumptuous, vain, to seek a special revelation

To show what stands in bold relief and courts thy observation.

Oh bring not thou in disrepute the doctrines we revere,
By pleading them for selfish sloth, mere pretexts insincere!

There's deference due to those who long have walked in Wisdom's ways,

Whose feet are beauteous in those Courts, whose entrance gates are praise;

But if on man too much thou lean,—pierced by the broken reed—

The Lord may take away thy staff* in thy extremest need.

With reverence view the Church and own with awe its holy Head,

Its councils never yet have erred, when He those counsels led!

Wholesome and binding its decrees forth in His power when given;

What thus is bound or loosed on Earth is bound or loosed in Heaven.

But take not for the Church's voice *their* dictum, whose example

Was money changers of old time or venders in the Temple;—

Nor with the mystic body that associate mass confound,
Who, on a catalogue enrolled, by common rules are bound.

The Body owned by Christ the Head, in Him alive remaineth

A Church composed of names enrolled, some halt and blind retaineth.

And if supinely thou should'st lie at earthly Temples' porches,

It may be thou wilt miss the Voice which speaketh to the churches,
Accountability to God must ever be direct—
It is not through the medium of society or sect.

Summon up the ghost of Luther with Melancthon at his side!

The Waldenses, who, for the Truth their Church rejected, died—

And Fox—from the blind leaders of the blind who nobly turned—

From the true and living Witness the way of life who learned—

And Woolman, who in gentleness pursued the narrow way,
Nor for the fellowship of man, nor for the Church could stay,

Who bore the bondman's burden upon his prayerful heart,
Till in his exercise of soul the Church at length bore part;—

Ask these if Truth would dictate that you close your eyes on light,

Till a great unwieldy body can perceive the true and right!

Beware the enthusiast's ultra zeal! unbidden haste beware!
In overweening confidence may lie thy fatal snare,

But let not bonds of sect keep back thy spirit from its goal,
Restrain thy feet from Duty's path and manacle thy soul!

Reposing on thy Church's breast, forget not those who dwell in Slavery's shades, and look to thee their tale of woe to tell!

By word and deed continuous plead the outraged bondman's cause,

Nor impute thyself in wrong for profit or applause.

Bind to thy heart the principles of thy most holy faith!

Swerve not from them in Fortune's beam or Persecution's wrath!

Bring all thy actions to the test of duty and of right—
Let all thy steppings, day by day, be taken in the light.

But fail not when thy course is clear advancing steps to make,

Because a body too supine unreal rest may take,
Had Luther waited for the Pope and all his Priests to own

The truths which burned within his breast, where then were Luther's crown?

He who would act a faithful part the path of some must cross:

Had Woolman waited for the Church, the Church had suffered loss!

But moving in the light of Truth the enlightening influence spread,—

The sluggish body followed on, where faithful ones had led.
They waited for the opening way—but when the way was clear,

They pressed right onward steadily in meek yet bold career.

Brave pioneers, like Joshua and old Jephunneh's son,
Exploring realms of principle, to them by Faith made known,

And walking blameless in those paths they ventured to explore,

Abundant fruit like Eschol's grapes back to the camp they bore.

Press on thy individual course of duty and of love,
With conscience pure—after, before, or with the body move!

Act not from whim, caprice—but well persuaded in thy mind—

Nor harbor one ungenerous thought toward those who wait behind.

W. J. A.

*Isaiah, iii, 1.

Printed at the Gazette Office, Burlington, N. J.

THE NON-SLAVEHOLDER.

"Whoso gives the motive, makes his brother's sin his own."

VOL. I.—NEW SERIES.]

PHILADELPHIA, FIFTH MONTH, 1853.

[No. 5.]

WILLIAM J. ALLINSON, EDITOR.

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J." (the residence of the Editor.)

Passages from our Correspondence.

(Continued from page 26.)

JEFFERSON CO. OHIO.—I think the fact that a prefer-
ence for Slave labor is a *direct* participation in guilt
and profits of the system, and that this preference is
generally given *in consequence* of that profit, is one
which should be forcibly and perseveringly pressed
home upon Friends and upon Americans generally.—
The habit of using Slave grown produce, has been so
long established, as almost to prevent attention being
so directed, as to make apparent a fact which is most
palpable, and which in truth

"Stands in bold relief, and courts our observation."

WAYNE, CO., INDIANA, (*With eight subscriptions*)—
"All wish to commence with the first number, so as to
preserve for binding, an entire volume. The Non-
Slaveholder meets the cordial approbation of the
friends of free labor here. I should be pleased to see it
reach a circulation equal to that of the National Era.
I hope to obtain more subscribers in this neighbor-
hood."

Another Friend from WAYNE Co., (with
8 subscriptions and promise of more,) after
cordially welcoming the resumption of our pa-
per, remarks:

"I trust it may prove a medium for promoting among
Friends a deeper interest in the welfare of the African
race, than, I fear, is the case in many places."

Another correspondent from the same neigh-
borhood, mentions an interesting Free Produce
Meeting, held about a month ago in Friends'
School House, at White Water, composed of
twenty-five Friends, including some of the
most prominent members of the Monthly
Meeting. It was concluded to form an Asso-
ciation, and a committee on organization being

appointed, they adjourned to a specified time.
Our friend writes:

"All seem fully aware what it will cost us to carry
out the measure, yet none seem disposed to shrink.—
At the close I mentioned the subject of the Non-Slave-
holder, and a few additional subscribers were obtained."

MORROW CO., OHIO.—"I perceive with peculiar satis-
faction, that the Non-Slaveholder is revived. The
choice of Editor could hardly have fallen upon a
more suitable person. We are taking measures to fur-
nish every family and part family in this Monthly
Meeting with a copy of the work. We have already
forwarded 60 names. * * * If Friends in other
meetings would follow our example, I think the paper
would not only be sustained, but a revolution would
soon take place in our Society, in regard to the use of
slave labor produce."

This letter mentions the annual meeting of
their Free Produce Association, numerous-
ly attended by Friends of the first standing, who
took much interest in the movement.

COLUMBIANA, CO., OHIO.—(*With eight subscriptions.*)
"I think it might be well to publish some information
ere long, respecting the channel through which Free
Labor Goods are obtained, as some seem to doubt its
being confidential." [*Ed.* This request was anticipated
on page 30.—Ed.]

HOWARD CO., INDIANA.—An order for 16
copies. This Friend was a subscriber to the
old series, and failed to forward his name upon
the supposition that the old subscribers would,
as a matter of course, be considered as patrons
to the Non-Slaveholder. It is quite probable
that many of them have been waiting with sim-
ilar impressions, and would promptly sub-
scribe on being asked. The first No. of the
present series was sent, as we believe, to all
former subscribers. We could not send out
an agent to solicit patrons, but have to rely
upon the efforts of those who are interested in
the principles which we advocate and desire to
promote. Acknowledgments are due to many
Friends for disinterested and successful efforts,
whilst the supineness of others has prevented
our list of readers from being greatly increased
in some neighborhoods.

HAMILTON CO., INDIANA.—A Friend, send-
ing us 12 subscriptions, expresses a sense of
loss sustained by the suspension of this Jour-
nal, and says:

"There is quite an interest manifested by Friends
here in the Non-Slaveholder, and I trust they will be
stimulated to action on the subject of abstinence from
slave-grown produce."

CLINTON CO., OHIO.—(*With 12 subscriptions.*)—I am

glad the Non-Slaveholder is resumed, and hope that the Editor will be favored to conduct it in the same Christian spirit; which is well calculated to carry conviction to the heart. I hope to see the paper enlarged."

ANNA W. HINCHMAN.

BY LYDIA H. SIGOURNEY.

A solemn group had gathered round the bed
Of youth and beauty. Unexpected shafts
Stood quivering in a bosom late so warm
With health and joy.

Yet cheering words she spake
When the dire fever lulled, with messages
To friend and pupil, and the glorious hope
In that Redeemer who had been her strength
From early days.

But to the Mother dear,
She whose whole life, inwoven with her own,
Had grown to one close tissue, more intense
In trust and sympathy, each passing year,
She calmly whispered,

"Haste thee, to put on
The pure white robe!"

And then, she fell asleep.

Oh stricken mourner! may thy soul be wrapped
In the chief Shepherd's love so perfectly,
That by such garment He may know ye both,
Mother and Daughter, 'mid his flock above,
And lead ye to the same unchanging home
In those green pastures that can never fade.

For the Non-Slaveholder.

CONSISTENCY.

It is peculiarly satisfactory to the advocates of immediate emancipation from the yoke of American Slavery, to be continually finding their opponents decidedly *avowing the principles*, which necessarily involve the duty of such emancipation, *when other subjects are the topics of consideration.*

A notable example of this, is presented to the Nation, in the Inaugural Address of our President.

In a retrospective view of "the new-born nation" he remarks—

"It was upheld by a broad and intelligent comprehension of rights, and an all pervading purpose to maintain them, stronger than armaments."

"The men of that day—with a firm and fearless step, advanced beyond the governmental landmarks, which had hitherto circumscribed the limits of human freedom," &c.

"The oppressed throughout the world, from that day to the present, have turned their eyes hitherward, not to find those lights extinguished, or to fear lest they should wane, but to be constantly cheered by their steady and increasing radiance. In this, our country has, in my judgment, thus far fulfilled its highest duty to suffering humanity. It has spoken and will continue to speak, not only by its words, but by its acts, the language of sympathy, encouragement and hope, to those, who earnestly listen to tones, which pronounce for the largest rational liberty."

"No example, be it remembered, can be powerful for lasting good, whatever apparent advantages may be gained, which is not based upon eternal principles of right and justice."

"No apparent advantage can be purchased at a price so dear as that of national wrong," &c.

In reference to the individual's rights, it is admitted to be the duty of the President to "see that no rude hand of power or tyrannical passion is laid upon him with impunity."

"I believe that involuntary servitude, as it exists in different States of this confederacy, is recognized by the Constitution—and that the States where it exists are entitled to efficient remedies to enforce the constitutional provisions. I hold that the — 'compromise measures,' are strictly constitutional, and to be unhesitatingly carried into effect—not with reluctance encouraged by abstract opinions as to their propriety in a different state of society," &c.

Here we find the noble principles of Abolitionists proclaimed to the Nation by its highest Executive. Not only is the immutable authority of these principles maintained, but every practical deviation from them is declared to be incompatible with the "lasting good" of the Nation, "whatever apparent advantages may be gained." This is the very bone and sinew of abolition doctrine, confirmed by "the Eternal Spirit," that "Righteousness exalteth a nation."

It is a serious question, whether or not, "a broad and intelligent comprehension of rights," which primarily induced the country to resist the oppression of Great Britain, has actually induced "an all pervading purpose to maintain" those rights? No ambiguity attaches to the subject, demanding delay for a truthful answer. The numerous legal enactments declaring millions of our fellow men, made in the image of God like ourselves, to be chattels and things, "to all intents and purposes whatsoever," give the reply to the world, that we have violated the "intelligent comprehension of rights" in reference to our brother, and "are verily guilty concerning" him, being judged out of our own mouth. What a response did the clanking of the chains, and the heart-rending woes of the victims of American oppression send, on the morning of the inauguration, to the affirmation of the President, that our new born country possessed "an all-pervading purpose to maintain" human "rights"! "ALL PERVADING!" "What mean then, "those wailings of agony in the human market-place? What those piercing lamentations of husbands and wives, parents and children, brothers and sisters, separated from each other to meet no more! What those cries which succeeded the lacerations of human flesh by cruel task-masters, and which "have entered the ears of the Lord of Sabaoth!"

Has not this "purpose," which indeed *ought to be* "all-pervading," been bounded by the *white man's* interest? Has not our selfishness decreed, "Hitherto shalt thou go, but no farther." Does not the fact of our "comprehension of rights," being "broad and intelligent," enhance our guilt?

The President commends our fathers, because, "with a firm and fearless step, (they) advanced beyond the governmental landmarks which had hitherto circumscribed the limits of human freedom." This is precisely what Abolitionists have done. How it can be proved that it was a *noble act* for our fathers to advance, far enough beyond British landmarks of human freedom, to connect the right of representation with the right of taxation, and yet that it is "fanatical," for some of the children to advance far enough beyond American land-

marks of human freedom, to allow a man to say his soul is his own, is a problem we leave for the logic of the President to solve.

"The oppressed throughout the world." This includes the outraged African. Did the wretched tenants of the slave-ships, in their manacles, turn "their eyes hitherward not to find (Freedom's) lights extinguished," nor "to fear lest they should wane," during the twenty years of the legality of that infamous traffic? Have *they* been subsequently "cheered by (the) steady and increasing radiance" of Freedom's lights? Surely, if the condition of the sons and daughters of bleeding, outraged Africa, "from that day (of our own freedom) to this," had come within the scope of the President's mental or physical vision, he could not have made such an assertion. O that some wretched coffin had passed at the moment to test its truth! Would he not have demurred to utter the affirmation, that "our country had, in my judgment, thus far fulfilled its highest duty to suffering humanity?" How glaringly will the faithful historic page falsify the representation!

Let us briefly extend this examination. It is farther affirmed, that the Country "has spoken and will continue to speak, not only by its words, but by its acts, the language of sympathy, encouragement, and hope, to those who earnestly listen to tones which pronounce for the largest rational liberty." Thousands have listened, millions in the land, *now* "earnestly listen" for these tones. Men and women made of the same blood, by the same Creator. What "words" fall on their ear? Let the "words" of the enactments of the Slave Code answer. O what sweet "language of sympathy, encouragement and hope!" What ample security "for the largest rational liberty." Its "acts" also, and "compromise measures," to save the Union, which righteousness only can save. What an admirable exemplification are these "acts," of our love and sympathy for "the oppressed throughout the world."

Does the Executive of the Nation declare the Institution, which is the shame in the eyes of the civilized world, to be in accordance with the principle of universal righteousness and freedom which he advocates as essential to our "lasting good?" No, verily. But it "is recognized by the Constitution." So was the foreign slave-trade now denominated piracy. Will the framing of mischief by a law, save us from the curse of the Almighty Avenger of the poor and oppressed? The alternative is before the President; either to affirm that Slavery is "based upon eternal principles of right and justice," or to acknowledge that his requisition that the "compromise measures—be unhesitatingly carried into effect," is incompatible with the "lasting good" of the Country, i. e. inconsistent with true patriotism. He has wisely determined, that "national wrong" is a price too dear to pay for any "apparent advantage" of any institution.

HENRY GREW.

Philadelphia, March 10, 1853.

PEACE is the portion of that happy mind
Which has its Reason, Will, and all resigned;
For then, inspired by Truth's directing ray,
It presses onward to eternal day.
Through Faith the unequal road becomes a plain,
Nor hills obstruct, nor flow'ry vales detain.

GEORGE DILLWYN.

To the Editor of the Non-Slaveholder.

WHO PAYS THE PROFITS?

Pittsburgh, 2d mo. 12th 1853.

I have just returned from the wharf, or levee, on the Monongahela side, whither I had been led by the business that brought me to the city. The rivers are at a high stage, and the shores lined with steamers, whose capacious holds are mostly receiving or discharging the products of the extensive west. Amongst them are several delivering cargoes of sugar and molasses, direct from the plantations of Louisiana.

As I saw the hundreds of hogsheads spread out before me, and the draymen actively engaged in carrying them into store, I felt more forcibly than I had ever done, our close contact with the dark and dreadful process of oppression under which all this was produced. When I reflected that the demands of the country would, in a few months, carry the contents of all these casks, through the thousand channels of trade, into the daily consumption of the liberty and justice loving families of Pennsylvania and Ohio,—(perhaps a few hogsheads are used up by my own friends and neighbors,)—I was more than ever impressed with the impossibility of escape from the guilt of encouraging and participating in that oppression, while we continued to partake of its fruits, and to divide its profits with the man who with his money bought the slaves, and with his own hands drove the victims to supply the market which we were offering him. I say *divide the profits* of that oppression, for if sugar can, by honestly paid labor, be furnished to the consumer in Ohio at 8 cents per pound—and *this* sugar, the product of a series of the most awful crimes against God and man, can be afforded at 6, are we not, by giving it the preference, *sharers in the profits of the commission of those crimes, in precisely the amount of the difference?* If we can believe the testimony of the planters, this is a per centage of profit fully equal to their own, although to each individual consumer of insignificant amount. And yet, how few, even among those who call upon the planters to be just—to let the oppressed go free—to deal with his laborers as with human beings, (when by doing so he would sacrifice his fortune, and perhaps for the present, his business,) are willing to sacrifice *their* share of the profits, amounting on sugar, to the trifling sum of two to five dollars per annum! Are the enormities of the slave system any the less *real* because they are committed beyond the immediate range of our vision? Are the sweat and blood—the crushing of humanity—the blotting out of intellect—the soul destroying

practices inseparable from the system which is now producing sugar at the lowest rate, a fiction of the imagination? Through the hands of how many Uncle Toms—of how many Solomon Northrups—of how many men and women of crushed spirits, of bleeding hearts and despairing souls—of almost obliterated intellects, driven on by how many Lagrees, and his more brutal Sambos and Quimbos, the identical hogsheads before me have passed, before they were, last week, rolled upon the steamboat, it is impossible to tell. But this we *do* know, that *each process* which has been employed in their production, has been carried on in violation of every principle of justice and humanity.

But yesterday, (since last autumn,) the cane which produced that sugar, has been cut and hauled, ground, and the juice boiled—the sugar packed and coopered up in these identical casks, from the cypress swamps, and taken to the landing by men and women *driven to their tasks* under the most cruel and revolting system of slavery ever practised by man.

The query, WHO PAYS THE PROFITS, WITHOUT WHICH THIS SYSTEM COULD NOT EXIST, is one that should come home to every honest mind, with an earnestness of demand not to be satisfied without a conscientious reply. M.

For the Non-Slaverholder.

STOLEN GOODS.

"Thou shalt not steal."—*Exodus* xx. 15.

It is often difficult for the truth to penetrate through the thick mists of law and custom, interest, inclination and prejudice, which so closely envelop us, distorting our moral vision, and giving a false coloring to objects viewed by us through these media. Particularly is this a common case in relation to the character of the products of slave labor.

A worthy co-temporary, whose judgment and feelings are almost universally correct in relation to the system of slavery, uses the following language:

"Though fully convinced that a clear and consistent testimony against the holding of slaves can hardly be maintained by those who are in the free and unrestrained practice of using the products of servile toil, the editor would be far from placing the fruits of slave labor on the same platform with those of piracy and theft. In the scale of oppression there are various grades, and a just argument is never strengthened by confounding distinctions which are easily discerned.*"

Another co-temporary, also an opponent of

*Our correspondent is here quoting from a wise veteran, who is perfectly sound in the faith, and is not often caught napping. His propositions are sufficiently tenable, and we rather suspect that the writer meant quietly to deduce from them the same conclusions to which Bets has arrived.—ED. NON-SLAVERHOLDER.

slavery, in reply to a correspondent on the subject of slave products, says—

"We think the comparison which he draws between using such produce and articles which we saw stolen from their owner, will not hold good, as could be readily shown, did it appear expedient to enter upon such a discussion in our paper."

If there are various grades of stealing, we suppose none would deny but that would be the highest, in which the robber is not satisfied with taking a portion of a man's property, and that perhaps only once from the same person, but steals *the man himself, with all his goods, and the produce of his labor, past, present and to come.* For as J. K. in his "Thoughts on Slavery," remarks, "He that purchases a man, were it not for the unjust laws which tolerate the practice, might be convicted of being an accomplice in theft or robbery of the most atrocious kind."

There are three degrees of participation in the crime of stealing, without being the actual thief.

1st. By the purchase, innocently, of stolen goods, in which case the purchaser is bound by law, as well as moral principle, on discovery, to restore them to their proper owner.

2d. When the purchaser knows at the time that the property is stolen. He is then accessory to the theft, and the law will punish him as such.

3d. When a tacit understanding exists beforehand between the thief and the receiver, that if the former will perpetrate the theft, the latter will be his customer. He then becomes accessory before, as well as after the fact, and party to the crime in the highest degree.

We are sorry to differ in sentiment from our friends above quoted, but we think we have shown good grounds for our belief, that, if there be any distinction, the moral turpitude of that species of theft which is by them considered the less, is the greater, and that the degree of our participation in it is of the superlative kind, if we are "in the free and unrestrained practice of using the products of servile toil."

If we are mistaken in our views, we would take it as a kindness if those who can so "easily discern," and "readily show" a distinction in the use of slave products, would bestow a little labor to convince us of our error, seeing that it is a testimony which is gaining ground, and involves no little self-denial, and some pecuniary disadvantage to uphold a practice consistent therewith.

BETA.

BARON MONTESQUIEU satirically said, "It is impossible to admit the *negroes to be men*, because, if we allow them to be men, it will begin to be believed that *we are not Christians.*"

For the Non-Slaveholder.

HOW DO WE KNOW?

When abstinence from slave labor is insisted upon, we sometimes hear the objection, "It will do no good," advanced, even by those whose humane impulses would prompt them to do something tending to the downfall of the oppressor's power. Such think, perhaps, that an evil so great, can only be destroyed by some tremendous revolution, wherein the demand of "blood for blood," shall be the moving principle; that the slave's misery will not be brought to an end by a process which holds the remedy so remote as that does, in which a non-participancy in the products of his toil, is the course of action. A disposition thus to regard, or rather perhaps, to disregard the subject, will not enable us to plead *not guilty*, when the cause of blood-shed shall be searched out.

How know we that our refusal to aid the oppressor in his pursuit of unhallowed gain, will do no good? How do we know that the All Wise Ruler of the Universe does not design to bring about a termination of the wrongs which the slave has endured through long and wretched years, by increased faithfulness on our part, in extending anti-slavery principles to the point of *non-participancy*, by a prompt refusal, on the part of the community resident on free soil, to meet the slaveholders in the market to which he brings merchandize fraught with human sighs, tears, and life-blood? Let us remember that while we are not separated from *traffic in the toil of slaves* however far removed we may be from the *scene of their sufferings in the physical world*, in the *moral world* we are standing beside them, receiving from their wearied hands the supplies which so abundantly minister to our demands.

WHAT CAN BE DONE? is the question of the spirit burdened and anguished by thoughts of all the evils nourished up into rank vigorous life in the evil soil of slavery. To enter the region and strong holds of oppression, with brave protestations against cruel laws, and with urgent entreaties that mercy might be shown to the oppressed, would be productive of little effect upon the African's bondage, while the inducement to its continuance is deep laid in gainful schemes. We cannot compel the slave-master to lay aside his instruments of torture—to sever his victim's chains, that the toilworn may rest, the grief-worn, rejoice—the oppressed go free: but we may *withdraw our aid* from the support of the system which inflicts the torture and binds the chain. We may let the oppressed go free from *that part* of their unrequited service *which our demands induce*: and we may practice a little self-denial

when our doing so may evidently influence the condition of the slave. If "to Africa's sable race, a fearful debt we owe," what blameworthy indifference does it indicate, to continue, while our years are speedily passing away, and the days, wherein restitution may be made, are gliding swiftly from us—to add to that "fearful debt"—to be instrumental in the support of tyrant power, which dooms thousands of human beings to a condition degraded and hopeless as can well be imagined. With a thought reaching to the time when "righteousness shall cover the earth as the waters do the sea," are we not ready to lament that in our actions and our influences, we make no perceptible advance towards that glorious event? If so, "let the time past suffice." Let not the slave pine in hopeless bondage, fettered in *thought and limb*," while we glide along the pleasant course of our lives forgetful of his griefs and sufferings. [*Communicated.*]

From Gems from the Spirit Mine.

WHAT IS GLORY.

Is it glory to cause the widow's tears
To roll o'er her fading face?
It is glory to watch the orphan's grief,
And the cause of its sorrow trace?
Such glory is caused by the battle-plain,
Where the husband and father lie with the slain.

Is it glory to break a mother's heart,
And from her home to tear
The only one who cared for her
In this weary world of care?
Then carry her son to the battle-plain,
And bury him there 'mid the thousands slain.

Is it glory to drive the soul in haste
To a world of black despair,
'Midst the dreadful din of cruel war,
Without one single prayer,
Then trample the youth amidst the slain,
And rejoice in death on the battle-plain?

Is it not glory to follow Him
Who said that brotherly love
Must reign in the breasts of those who wish
To dwell with Him above?
The Prince of Peace will smile on those
Who the sword and the battle-field oppose.

ANN JANE.

THE NON-SLAVEHOLDER.

PHILADELPHIA, FIFTH MONTH, 4, 1853.

GENUINENESS OF FREE GOODS.

The request of our friend of Columbiana Co., Ohio, (see passages from our correspondence on our first page,) which bears date prior to his reception of our last number, is a very proper one, and it is answered in No. 4—Page 30, under the caption "GENUINENESS OF FREE LABOR GOODS." We would recall attention to the explanation there given, and will take this occasion to add, that not only is

the channel for obtaining free cotton a perfect one,—but a thorough care is also exercised to keep it *unmixed* in the process of manufacture. To secure this object an excess of free cotton is sent to the factory, a portion of which, at the beginning and end, being mixed with Slave cotton in the joining, (to avoid stopping the machinery) is rejected, and only the middle is received as free goods. The arrangement is perfect as regards the integrity of the free fabric.

We trust that FRIENDS. (particularly those who reside within convenient access to this city,) will bear in mind the annual meeting of the Free Produce Association, of which notice is given in another page.—Friends, of both sexes, who are interested in the substitution of the productions of Free Labor for those of coerced and unrequited toil, are invited to attend.

DELAWARE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION.

"Tis Liberty alone that gives the flower
Of fleeting life its lustre and perfume;
And we are weeds without it. All constraint,
Except what Wisdom lays on evil men,
Is evil; hurts the faculties, impedes
Their progress in the road of science; blinds
The eye-sight of discovery; and begets,
In those that suffer it, a sordid mind
Bestial, a meagre intellect, unfit
To be the tenant of man's noble form."

Would that these noble thoughts of Cowper had influenced the Delaware Convention, in connection with the still nobler sentiment and mandate of Him whose perfect will ought to be the basis of all human law: "*Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so to them.*" Would that James A. Bayard, (who appears prominent as a mover in the great iniquity) and the other members of this convention had pondered the precepts, and received into their hearts an infusion of the Spirit of the holy REDEEMER who "took upon him the form of a *servant*," who recognizes a brother in the negro whom their "amendments" would call a *slave*, and who has pronounced him only to be "free indeed" who is made so by his blessed Truth. Do James A. Bayard and his colleagues fancy themselves to be *freemen* whilst every one who holds in his hand the Bible may trace the pedigree of their ownership in Rom. vii. 16, and in John ix. 44. And do they think that by votes and amendments, they can take away the franchise of those whom Christ hath made "fellow citizens with the saints?"

"The oppressor holds
The body bound, but knows not what a range
The spirit takes, unconscious of a chain,
And that to bind him is a vain attempt
Whom God delights in, and in whom He dwells."

It appears that the "amendments" of this Convention provide that "the Legislature shall have no authority to emancipate slaves without the consent of the owner or owners." A dia-

bolical provision, by which the *amenders* seem disposed to leave the world the worse for their having lived in it. Unworthy tenants of this beautiful planet, they repay its hospitality by seeking to deepen "the trail of the serpent." They prevent, on pain of fearful penalty, any free negro or mulatto coming into and settling in the State, impose a fine upon any person who shall employ him, and crown the impiety of the scheme with the pretence of benevolence, by appropriating monies thus wickedly obtained "for the colonization of such free negroes and mulattoes as may be inhabitants of the State at the adoption of this Constitution, and their descendants, who may be willing to emigrate."

In Delaware, we believe there is about one slave to every 45 freemen. The impolicy, the glaring folly here displayed are as apparent as the baseness.

WHO KEEPS UP SLAVERY?

The London *Times*, of 12th mo. 1st, a Journal not ranked as an Anti-Slavery organ, has the following candid observations, which we heartily commend to the notice of *thinkers*.

"We, of this free and happy country, are just the most extensive employers (indirectly, but not less really) of slave labor, in the world. Negro slaves, working under the lash in the mid-day sun, and 'keeping their toe well up to the mark,' as Mr. Legree would say, produce the material of our cravats, our stockings, and the simple and comprehensive garment in which we take our repose. They supply the muslins and prints, and nearly all the other fabrics of our female costume, from the dress of the Sovereign to that of the poorest needlewoman. Slaves produce our coffee, and the sugar that sweetens it. By day and by night, sitting down and rising up, we are still encouraging slavery by consuming its produce. The prime agent who moves the wheels of southern slavery we are told, is the northern capitalist, who has his mortgage on the slave estate, or holds a bill of sale, and who secures himself, when necessary, by an order to his agent to sell off everything on the estate, slaves and all, for what they will fetch at the hammer. This man, Mrs. Stowe tells us, is really a guilty partner in the transaction, if not the most guilty—the most guilty because he supplies the strongest stimulus of the system, and compels the most violent measures. But if the northern capitalist pulls the strings of the southern planter, who pulls the strings of the northern capitalist? Most assuredly the merchants and brokers of N. York are mainly dependent on the British market. *We* use the slave cotton. We supply the *slave* capital. *Our* money buys the negro,—*our* money buys his works. It is an indissoluble union of interests and operations, of which the white slave of this country is at one end, and the black slave of America at the other end of the chain."

We do not, however, introduce the ingenuous confession of the London Editor, as a quibble to any American conscience. We are pleased with the paragraph, as showing that, even in the mind of the worldling and the politician, well applied common sense will recognize the truth which is the leading idea of our

periodical. But, as Cowper says, "Truth is not local." Participancy (on whichever side the Atlantic it exist,) constitutes partnership. "It is an indissoluble union of interests and operations." We are pleased that our transatlantic brethren should see their accountability and would welcome them to the platform of non-participancy. And we would hail, with pleasure and with courtesy, every recognition of truth and freedom in any member of the human family. We do not like the disposition which some evince, to twit our English sisters with the oppression which surrounds them in their own homes (and which many of them long and labor to alleviate.) Oppression, *any where*, is good cause for remonstrance *from any quarter*. The man who sees, in any part of the world, a brother man oppressed, has the instant right to interfere by raising his voice in remonstrance. Should it appear that he himself is guilty of some phase of oppression—it follows—not that he should fail to take his brother's part—but, that he should preach the same sermon to himself and cease to do evil. And he to whom the rebuke or exhortation is addressed, ought to receive it in the spirit of meek self-investigation, and not seek to dodge its application by hurling it back upon an inconsistent fellow transgressor, who perchance may perceive our errors more readily than his own, or may think that the existence of a *mote* in his own eye is no reason for his omission to pluck out a *scantling* from ours. We clip the following from the *Daily Register*, because of its recognition of the same principle set forth in the above extract from the *Times*. We love our British sisters all the better for their laudable movement, and altho' we have not failed to perceive something of the frailty of poor human nature mixed up with holy motive, we by no means charge it with "miserable shallowness," nor "consider them open to the discourteous insinuations of singular self-delusion or a flimsy hypocrisy."

THE ENGLISH LADIES AND SLAVERY.

It appears by our files received by the *Arctic*, that our American women are shortly to receive a mammoth address from their English sisters, on the subject of African slavery in this country. We are pleased to see that the world has arrived at such a stage of progress that the sentiment of humanity takes precedence of all others. But it is rather discouraging to see how blind and absurd it is in its way of getting at an acknowledged evil. There is no little self-righteousness and pride of supposed superior national purity at the bottom of this whole movement. We should have thought much more highly of the English ladies, had they sent their mammoth address to the cotton merchants at Liverpool, instead of to the women of Maine, Pennsylvania, Michigan, &c.

To lay bare the miserable shallowness of this whole feminine movement, we will use a short catechism.

Why is slavery maintained? Because the sale of slave-labor products is profitable. What is the chief

product? Cotton. Where is the great cotton market of the South? At Liverpool. Where is the great town for the manufacture of cotton? Manchester. If then, the buyers of cotton are chiefly to blame for the maintenance of slavery, and the English are the principal buyers, it follows that the English are as justly chargeable with its maintenance as we. It would therefore, be more logical for the Duchess of Sutherland and her half million of coadjutors, to change the destination of their address, and send it to Parliament, adding a prayer for the prohibition of the purchase of slave-produced cotton. That would look like being in earnest. As the case stands at present, the whole business looks like an unfair attempt to shift on comparatively innocent persons the whole disgrace of an unpopular institution. So long as the English ladies shall show a disposition to lay the lash on the shoulders of American slaveholders, and spare those of the Manchester and Liverpool merchants who buy nearly all the cotton, so long shall we consider them open to the discourteous insinuations of singular self-delusion, or a most flimsy hypocrisy.

JOSIAH TATUM.—This beloved and valuable Friend "ceased to be mortal" on the 4th of Fourth Month, in the 63d year of his age. Of the very large and constantly enlarging circle of individuals who not only esteemed, but tenderly *loved* him, there is, perhaps, not one who has not felt afflicted, bereaved, "unready for the stroke." We do not question the perfect Wisdom which has called him from a life of blessing to a life of blessedness, yet there are many who sigh and exclaim "alas! alas!"

"Oh thy gentle smile of greeting,
Who again shall see?
Who amidst the solemn meeting.
Gaze again on thee?"

* * * * *
Gone before us, oh our brother,
To the Spirit-land!
Vainly look we for another
In thy place to stand!"

Solemn as is the termination of an earthly existence, it is yet most glorious when the object for which it was given has been fully attained; when, as in the case of our dear friend, it is believed, that by the life thus bestowed, the glory of the Giver has been promoted, that the love of the Eternal Father has been evinced by continuous deeds of love to the human brotherhood, and that the now enfranchized soul has witnessed the efficacy of the one great sacrifice for sin, has been made white, and robed in white, and admitted within the gate, at whose portals all impurity is self-repelled. For such there is, in the very depth of mourning, a solemn joy; an unselfish and unworldly happiness which does not smile; and whilst

"In the shadow of a great affliction
The soul sits dumb,"

the language of the Amesbury bard is realized,

"Our Father's will
Calling to Him the dear ones whom he loveth,
—Is mercy still."

We often drop a tear on the death of men

of talent and goodness, whose place in general society and in the Church, can be in a great measure supplied by others. But we are at times bereft of those who leave a void which those who appreciated them, do not expect to see filled. By the removal of such, the world seems to become poorer, and to receive a sombre tinge from the withdrawal of light. Josiah Tatum was one of those singularly rich characters. He was a manly Christian. Of a strong yet humble mind. Firm, yet gentle, loving, and most genial hearted. Even, consistent, prudent, wise,—too steadily “watchful unto prayer” to be readily thrown off his guard; his conversation, and his language as a more public speaker, were rich with a peculiarity and raciness of expression, which gave a singular charm and currency to the sentiments expressed. And thus he “kept the even tenor of his way,” “doing justly, loving mercy, and walking humbly with his God.”

“So calm, so constant was his rectitude,
That by his loss alone we know its worth,
And feel how true a man has walked with us on Earth.”

We are requested to announce the annual meeting of the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, to be held at the Broadway Tabernacle, New York, on the evening of Fourth day, the 14th instant.

For the Non-Slaveholder.

ANNA W. HINCHMAN.

We have stood where the Reaper was busy translating
For the garden of Eden a favorite blossom.
We have watched by the couch where the angels were waiting

To bear a dear saint into Abraham's bosom.
We have seen what a brief fleeting dream is mortality.
We have seen that true Faith is a blessed reality.
We have seen how a Christian, from soul-stains all washed,
In the arms of a Savior could fall unabashed—
Himself for her plea: and the death which he bore
Her claim for a share in his life evermore.
Every robe of her own as vile rags cast away,
His righteousness only her Spirit's array.

When her life tide was ebbing, her lips parched with fever,
And all that is seen was receding forever,
For the stream which from under the white throne is bursting,

For the River of Water of Life she was thirsting.
She panted, she listened, the accents to hear,
Of a Father whose voice to her spirit was clear;
And she longed in his presence to stand unproved
Whom, not having seen, she had tremblingly loved;
Unto whom, day by day, through Life's wearisome task,
She came for free pardon and mercy to ask,
And who turned not away from her agonized throes,
But made, in her sickness, her bed of repose,
And suffered no shade of Remorse to alloy
THE PEACE WHICH PRECEDED THE FULLNESS OF JOY.

How the spirit would sink with despondence and sadness

Were it not for the Faith that inspires us with gladness!
How the shadow of Death all our hopes would enshroud,

Were it not for the glory that strikes thro' the cloud!
That glory, dear spirit, it burst on thy sight,
And all Time's allurements were lost in its light!

That long, clear, intense, earnest gaze into Heaven!
For a vision like this was a human eye given?
Not often such glimpse is permitted to mortals
Till the spirit is entering Beatitude's portals.
That glance!—'Twas the last! and then closed in
Death's blindness

The eye which met ours ever beaming with kindness.
And a niche was left vacant;—and tears fell like rain;—
And light fell away from our pathway of pain;—
And sadness and darkness seemed closing o'er all;
And the shadow of Death was Joy's funeral pall.

But praises, high praise for the victory given,
Robbing Death of his sting and the Grave of its gloom!
Whilst we mourn for ourselves we resign thee, and even

In the midst of our tears we rejoice o'er thy tomb.
Alas, we exclaim, as our sorrow comes o'er us,
And we groan for Instructress, Friend, Sister and Daughter;

Then we think of thee joining the heavenly chorus,
And Peace comes like oil upon Grief's troubled water.

And e'en while the tears from our eye lids are streaming,
Those drops as they fall are with gratitude gleaming.

We beheld thee when storms threatened fearfully,
doing

The beautiful work which for thee was ordained;
We beheld thee, in conflict tho' faint yet pursuing
The end of thy faith, now sublimely attained.

We have seen thee drink deep, and athirst still for learning,

Now all lies exposed to thy purified vision!
And, knowing as known, and the secrets discerning
Which the angels look into with rapture elysian.

Nothing there to obstruct the free spirit's expansion
From knowledge to knowledge, from glory to glory,
Thou wilt blend with delight, in that heavenly mansion,

With the souls who found rest in Christ Jesus before thee.

Oh, limitless treasure, and rivers of Pleasure,
And Peace flowing alway unstinted by measure,
No earth-soil defiling thy soul's gathered essence,
And confessed by the Son in the holiest Presence.

Dear Savior! To thee was our cherished one precious!
To her was thy offering for sin efficacious!
For her not in vain was thy holy side riven!
For her not in vain thy great ransom was given!
For her nought could serve but the robe of thy merit,
And the boon thou bequeatest 'twas hers to inherit.
And when at thy footstool she kneeled with heart-breaking,

Thy spirit for her intercession was making.

For her, all sufficient thy blest mediation!

For her everlasting thy perfect salvation!

W. J. A.

☛ The Annual Meeting of the Philadelphia Free Produce Association of Friends is to be held in Clarkson Hall (Cherry Street above Sixth St.) on 4th day the 18th inst. at 8 o'clock P. M.

PHILADELPHIA FREE PRODUCE STORE.

Just Received—from the East Indies,
Fine Mull Muslins;
Also, a further supply of Armistead's SUPERIOR ENGLISH MUSTARD, which will be furnished to dealers at low prices.

Retailers will find it convenient to take that put up in tins, bottles and tin-foil packets.

GEO. W. TAYLOR,

N. W. corner of 5th and Cherry Streets.
5mo. 1, 1853.

Printed at the Gazette Office, Burlington, N. J.

THE NON-SLAVEHOLDER.

"Whoso gives the motive, makes his brother's sin his own."

VOL. I.—NEW SERIES.]

PHILADELPHIA, SIXTH MONTH, 1853.

[No. 6.

WILLIAM J. ALLINSON, EDITOR.

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ANNUAL REPORT OF THE PHILADELPHIA FREE PRODUCE ASSOCIATION OF FRIENDS.

In order to give in full this important and
interesting document, without precluding space
for our usual variety of matter, the present
number is given to our readers, of double the
usual size.

The interesting Report of the New York As-
sociation having reached us since the matter
for this number was prepared, we gladly make
room for it.

ANNUAL REPORT.

The return of another year has devolved on
the Managers the duty of again presenting to
the Association their Annual Report of the
services accomplished or attempted, during the
year that has just closed. On this subject the
managers have to acknowledge that very little
has been effected, by their instrumentality,
since their last yearly report.

The great and primary object of our Asso-
ciation, we doubtless all remember, was to en-
courage and promote by a union of efforts, the
production and distribution, untouched and
unstained by oppression and wrong, of such ar-
ticles of domestic consumption as are usually
and chiefly extorted from the labor of slaves.
For this purpose a Store was opened in this
city, several years ago, with the concurrence
and encouragement of the managers, by our
friend George W. Taylor. Efforts have been
used, and continue so to be, to have that esta-

lishment supplied altogether through the in-
strumentality of free and compensated labor,
with those tropical productions, which consti-
tute the staples of slave cultivation. As the
burden of conducting this establishment rests
almost exclusively upon him, it is to that point
that the attention of the managers within the
past year has been chiefly directed. The goods
which this store is designed to furnish, are of
two very different kinds, and must be ob-
tained from different sources; viz. cotton fa-
brics and groceries.

Cotton is well known to be extensively cul-
tivated by the labor of slaves, in several of the
southern states, particularly in Mississippi.
The market for cotton may be pronounced the
main pillar of American slavery. The increase
of cotton cultivation, consequent upon Eli
Whitney's improvement in the mode of separ-
ating the seed, gave a new and powerful im-
petus to the internal traffic in slaves—that
most odious feature of an odious system—and
the continued demand for the article keeps up
a demand for the labor that produces it; and
consequently, where the producers are slaves, it
sustains the traffic in their persons.

We frequently hear revolting reports of
men, women and children sold at public sale,
in the northern slave states, at extravagant
prices; not to be employed in the neighbor-
hood where they were born, but to be trans-
ported to regions further south; there to drag
out a few, and but a few, tedious years, sepa-
rated from all that nature and habit hold dear.
Let us then inquire what is the ultimate ob-
ject of these cruel measures? It is not an in-
nate love of cruelty that prompts the sellers or
the purchasers of these heart broken victims of
a brutalizing commerce. The proceeding is
founded on a calculation of dollars and cents.
The planter, who purchases the husband and
leaves the wife behind, expects to be remun-
erated for his trouble and expense, by the sale
of the cotton which the purchased slave will
extract from the soil; and the cotton goes to
swell the profits of a shipping merchant of a
free state who conveys it to a manufacturer in
one of the middle or eastern states, or to a
house in Liverpool, from which it quietly
passes to whirl on the spindles of Arkwright.
The fabric is then thrown abroad over Europe

and America, to supply the wants and increase the comforts of those who

"Would not have a slave to till *their* ground,
To carry them, to fan them while they sleep,
And tremble when they wake, for all the wealth,
That sinews, bought and sold, have ever earned."

Cotton fabrics have indeed become so blended with our domestic supplies, that our habits must be greatly changed if we would deny ourselves their use; and happily we now know that cotton not only *may be*, but actually *is*, extensively cultivated in the United States, and various other places, by the labor of free-men. The cotton goods which G. W. Taylor procures and offers to the acceptance of his customers, are manufactured from cotton, untouched, as we are fully convinced, by servile hands. Of the character of those goods, and the difficulties attendant upon his efforts to secure a supply, he has furnished the following account:

"During the Spring and Summer of 1852 various fabrics, either wholly or partly cotton, were added to the stock, such as—

30, 33, 36 & 40 inch heavy Muslins,
6 cord Sewing Cotton,
32 and 36 inch fine bleached Shirts,ings,
A beautiful article of cotton and wool called
Hungarian Fancy,
An assortment of Nos. of Knitting Cotton,
Plaid Muslins, cord check muslins,
Glazed Jaconet, Silk & worsted Check,
Plain, printed, stripe and check Lustres,
Fancy silk stripe Crossover,
Satin stripe printed warp,
Satin stripe de Laines,
Dimities, Fancy Ginghamms,
Fine plaid and hair cord Ginghamms,
Solid stripe Ginghamms and Chambreys,
Tickings, printed linen Cambrics,
Sirocco Fancies, Dress Cord, Poplins, &c.

An increased variety of Goods was ordered for the Autumn sales, to be made of a large lot of cotton which had been sent to Liverpool. But through the carelessness of the consignees, it was sold beyond the reach of our free labour co-adjutors in England. The consequence was, a complete failure to obtain several articles of indispensable necessity. This gave rise to numerous complaints by consumers; but it was too late to procure more free labour cotton, when the loss became known on this side.

The want of more perfect arrangements for manufacturing continues to be a source of much perplexity to the Store-keeper, and of frequent disappointment in procuring articles needed by families depending on this medium of supply."

From this account, and a little reflection on the nature of the case, we readily perceive that to secure a regular supply of cotton fabrics, suited to the various wants of the public, alto-

gether free from the taint of slavery, a concert of action and an amount of capital, only to be obtained by an extensive union of efforts, are indispensable. Though large quantities of cotton are raised, in some of the Southern states, entirely by free labor, yet this cotton, if bought in the general market, without special care in the selection, is likely to be blended with the products of slavery; and when brought to the doors of the manufacturer, it may be mixed with slave grown cotton in passing through the mill, unless provided in sufficient quantity to exclude the latter altogether from the factory. Hitherto means have not been found to secure a supply of free cotton goods, through the operations of factories on our side of the Atlantic. Recourse has therefore been had to the factories of Great Britain. This measure, of course, so far as American cotton is concerned, involves a double transportation across the intervening ocean, and consequently a loss of time and an increase of expense. The latter item, however, may perhaps be compensated by the cheapness of labor in England. It is however fully believed that if a sufficient amount of capital could be placed at the disposal of the dealers in free goods, to secure, by means of trust worthy agents, the purchase of free grown cotton, immediately from the planters, as soon as it was ready for the market; or to anticipate its growth by previous arrangement; in quantities equal to the demands of one or more factories, to the total exclusion of slave grown cotton; the market might, in a little time, be supplied with all the varieties which the habits of the community require, and upon terms as favorable as those of a promiscuous character.

Next to cotton, as a pillar of slavery, we rank the great staple of Louisiana and the West Indies, sugar. With regard to the means of supplying the demands of the public, with this article, G. W. Taylor remarks:

Free Labour Sugars, it is well known, are seldom brought to this market in the regular course of trade. I am therefore under the necessity of importing sugars from those places where they are known to be produced by the labour of free persons. Owing to the impossibility of procuring them at different times in the year, I am obliged to secure a year's supply of sugar and molasses during the season when only they can be had. When a lot of sugar is to be refined, in order to procure its being done in the best manner, by a refiner who will produce uniformly the best qualities, such refiners usually operating on a large scale, it is requisite to order a large quantity made at one operation.* These

*Being transiently in the Free Produce Store, a short time ago, we noticed an illustration of this in a fresh lot of Refined Sugar amounting to \$7000 (cash.) We concluded that if other items were in proportion,

indispensable conditions involve the necessity for a large capital and spacious rooms and cellars for storage. In addition to the increased expense from these causes, from the impossibility of foreseeing how long a given quantity will last, and the circumstance that suitable free labor sugars for refining are not always to be had in sufficient amount, it will sometimes happen that the stock of those refined sugars becomes exhausted, and an interval of several days or weeks will occur when customers cannot be supplied however pressing their wants. This calls for the exercise of patience on their part, and is a source of anxiety and mental suffering, as well as loss, to the provider."

Here we see, as in the case of cotton goods, the necessity and importance of extended concert of action, and a larger capital.

Though cotton is doubtless the most efficient supporter of American slavery, yet, if we extend our view to the east of the Atlantic, and to the regions south of the United States, we shall probably find sugar entitled to the first place in this bad pre-eminence. The market for sugar kept up till lately the Brazilian slave trade; and it still maintains that abominable traffic in the Island of Cuba. Whether sugar from cane is produced, in any considerable quantity, in the United States, by the labor of freemen, is a question which the managers are not prepared to answer. We have however the satisfaction to know that the British, French and Danish West Indies, so recently the strong holds of slavery, are cultivated exclusively by the hands of freemen. Yet even there, after all that has been done, and all that has been paid by the government at home, to break the fetters of the slave, the evils of slavery have been too deeply impressed on the character and habits of the people, to be suddenly obliterated. To that quarter we must look for a supply of sugar: and may we not hope that the abuses which a vicious system has introduced, will eventually prove, merely as the workings of a sea,

Before a calm, which rocks itself to rest.

After the copious remarks on the interesting objects of our association, which may be found in our former reports, the managers deem it unnecessary to enter into any elaborate arguments to prove either the evils of slavery, or the rectitude of the course which we feel compelled to adopt.

Among the early labors of Friends, within Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, on the subject of slavery, we find their principal efforts directed against the slave trade; and they pro-

the business must be more burthensome than profitable, as quick sales would be necessary to prevent actual loss. Surely all friends of Freedom ought to give their patronage to the Establishment, and to recommend it to others.—Ed.

bably acted wisely in endeavoring first to stop the traffic to which the existing slavery was owing; but the penetrating mind of John Woolman was not long in discerning that to support a consistent testimony against the system at large, he must abstain from indulging his palate with the sweets extracted from the labor of slaves. So sensitive was he on this subject, that he declined the use of silver vessels for the ordinary purposes of life; and when stretched upon his dying bed, he requested his attendants, in case his disease should cloud his understanding, to avoid administering any thing to him, which they knew he had a testimony against. Had the example of this devoted christian been followed by all those who have adopted his sentiments on the general subject, there can be no reasonable doubt that the testimony of Friends against slavery would, at this day, have been more advanced than it is. The advocates of slavery, must have perceived that there was one society that maintained a consistent testimony against what they pronounced an unrighteous system. They must have seen that Friends were ready to make all the sacrifices which consistency required. But can that be said of Friends in general of our day? Our discipline does not permit any member to hold or even to hire a slave to assist in his business, however mildly the authority may be used; and yet many among us, use without hesitation, and trade without scruple, in the products of servile toil, though that toil may be urged with a rigor never maintained by any slaveholding member of the Society of Friends. Could a planter of Louisiana or Mississippi be expected to listen with feelings of compunction to the expostulations of a Philadelphia Friend, upon the cruelty and injustice of slaveholding, if that Friend was in the practice of purchasing the sugar or cotton obtained by the planter from the drudgery of his slaves? Such a planter, if acquainted with the sermon on the mount, might very possibly repay the kindness of his admonisher, by a quotation from that remarkable discourse. Matt. vii. 5.

We have, however, the consolation to believe that the conviction is spreading, both among Friends and others, that the true and affectual mode of assailing the system of Slavery, is to turn the stream of commerce into channels through which Slavery does not flow. The apparently self-evident proposition that Slavery, like everything else, must live by that which feeds it, appears to be arresting the attention of many on both sides of the Atlantic. Hence we frequently hear accounts of plans suggested for supplying the market with tropical products, without depending on the labor

of slaves. The attention of Friends, in most of the yearly meetings on this continent appears, of latter time, to have been increasingly turned to this subject.

The Managers have the satisfaction to announce the revival, since our last annual report, of the NON-SLAVEHOLDER, in a reduced form, and at a diminished price. The cost in its present form is indeed so low that we may reasonably hope that it will obtain an extensive circulation; and thus be instrumental to an increase of interest in the momentous cause to which it is devoted. When we reflect on the efforts which are made, with an energy and perseverance worthy of a better cause, to enlarge the area, and to strengthen the influence of the Slaveholding interest, we must view with approbation, every endeavor, however humble, to diffuse correct information, and to promulgate sound principles of action, on this important subject.

In the earliest endeavors to clear the Society, on this continent, of the guilt and odium of Slavery, the Yearly Meeting of Philadelphia appears to have taken the lead. It was to that Yearly Meeting that the subject of buying and keeping negro slaves was presented by our German Friends in 1688, and that meeting, eight years afterwards, issued advice to its members "to be careful not to encourage the bringing in of any more negroes, and that such as had negroes, to be careful of them, bring them to meetings, have meetings with them in in their families, &c. The subject was again moved in 1711 by the Quarterly Meeting of Chester; then the most Southern branch of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting. This was nearly five years before the subject was taken up by New England Yearly Meeting. Anthony Benezet and John Woolman, two of the most assiduous advocates of the colored race, of their day, were members of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting. In Philadelphia, where Friends probably exercised more influence than in any other city on the American continent, the first law was enacted that no more slaves should be born within the jurisdiction of Pennsylvania. But may we not now seriously ask whether Friends of this Yearly Meeting are likely, much longer to retain the position which our fathers attained? The managers institute no invidious comparison, but they can neither deny nor disguise the fact, that the free labor movements have not among us obtained the countenance and encouragement, which, they assuredly believe, their importance demands. This circumstance, however, though greatly to be regretted, furnishes no reason why the members of this association should relax their efforts. On the contrary, it presents a motive

for more assiduous and persevering exertions to excite a livelier interest in the cause, both among our fellow members, and in the community at large.

The cause in which we have embarked is the cause of humanity and justice; the means proposed are wholly pacific in their character; and if they could be made general, would cause Slavery, with all its ramifications, to expire from exhaustion, and without a struggle.

Signed on behalf of the Board,

SAMUEL RHODES,

Philada. 5 mo. 18th, 1853. Secretary.

REPORT OF THE MANAGERS

Of the Free Produce Association of Friends of New York Yearly Meeting.

While the subject of abstinence from the products of the labor of Slaves seems to be eliciting fresh attention, and its advocates to be gaining strength and courage, not only abroad, but in distant sections of our own country; it is painful and humiliating to be obliged to chronicle among ourselves, an apparent decline of interest in this deeply interesting and important cause.

We would earnestly impress on the consideration of each one whom we address, the query, Why is this? Are we excusing our own individual efforts on account of the high ground which New York Yearly Meeting has taken, or have we *altogether ceased* to remember them that are in bonds as bound with them? The present is no time for supineness or indifference! The withering grasp of Slavery seems still stronger than ever in our country and her institutions. Even those who are released from its thrall, the free people of color, whose character and whose labor, it is one of our duties to elevate, are pursued by an un pitying prejudice, and like a tribulated band of old, when persecuted in one State fleeing to another, too often finding no place of safety or of refuge, short of those blissful shores where all earth's weary pilgrims rest together, and the servant is free from his master.

The managers have continued to hold their regular meetings, but so feebly have their hands been upheld and so extremely inadequate have been the receipts into their treasury, to accomplish the ends in view, that with the exception of issuing a second edition of the Tract, entitled "Slavery and the Slave trade. Who is responsible?" they have been compelled to remain inactive during the past year. While, however, this has necessarily been the case, they have not failed to look upon the fields, and they believe they were never more white unto harvest than at the present time.

The Cotton Spinners of Manchester are turning their attention to every quarter of the globe for supplies, in order not to be dependent on the Slaves of America. On the Western Coast of Africa the Cotton plant is indigenous, and the few bales which are beginning to arrive from those parts, it is hoped may be but the precursor of more important supplies. A small quantity has recently been transmitted from La Plata, with advices that it was a sample of cotton growing wild on the banks of the Parana, where *any quantity* may be had for gathering. Efforts also continue to be made to increase the quantity, and improve the quality of the East India Cotton; but while these have yet led to no very promising results, brighter hope seems now to arise from another quarter. Over an extent of five hundred and fifty miles of the Australian coast, cotton of the best description perennially thrives. There is a river available for steam navigation every forty miles along this whole extent, and on the banks of these are millions of acres of the richest land in one of the finest climates in the world. And when the mania for mining shall have ceased, after peopling those immense tracts with hardy and industrious laborers, may we not hope that every ship which now reaches them freighted with the products of their father land, will return laden with cotton, the product of freemen. It is interesting also, to note that *the Sea Island, the finest description of cotton, from which the most delicate goods are manufactured*, which is grown in America along a very limited extent of coast in Georgia and South Carolina exclusively, *and which we have never yet been able to obtain, the product of free labor*, can be grown along the above extent of Australian coast, equally well with the shorter stapled variety.

Should these hopes be realized, and the little rills of free labor supplies of this important staple become swollen to a mighty torrent, the knell of Slavery will soon be sounded in our land. Let us arouse ourselves from our torpor and inactivity and do all *we* can in aiding a consummation so devoutly to be wished. It is an old saying that Slavery sits on a *Cotton bale*, and we believe it is the producers of this staple particularly, who should be made to realize the demand for the free labour article. The Managers have, from year to year, alluded to the thousands of bales of free labour cotton, now within our reach in various sections of the Southern States; and this quantity would, doubtless, steadily increase, were there a well regulated and practical demand for it. Our friends in England are urgent that it may be supplied to them, but naturally expect this to be brought about through our agency.

The arrangement, which, agreeably to our last report, was made with EZRA TOWNE, for keeping a supply of free labour goods, though very poorly remunerative to him, has worked to the satisfaction of the Managers, and if the supply of manufactured cotton goods has been poorer than could have been wished, it has been owing to causes beyond his control. He has recently removed to No. 207 Fulton street, where we trust all who feel interested in having a place for the supply of Free labour products maintained in this city, as well as for the advancement of the cause, will give him their liberal and substantial countenance. On account of the extremely limited demand for Free Cotton goods, great and increasing difficulties exist in the way of having them made in this country; in consequence of which the stores both in Philadelphia and this city have lately been mainly dependent on goods manufactured in England. There, however, the want of the cotton is greatly felt, and in furnishing it to manufacturers in that country, this Association would impart a valuable aid to the cause, as well as promote the surest means of more fully meeting the wants of our own stores and wardrobes.

The Managers may here inform the Association, that Merchants are not wanting, who, if guaranteed by us to a small extent against loss, would undertake the shipment of this cotton, with their own means, trusting to the possible profits as their only remuneration for the interest and use of their capital. It is believed that if two hundred and fifty to five hundred dollars could be raised for application in this manner, in connexion with similar amounts from other associations, the Board would, through this means, be able to report next year that a considerable quantity of Free Labour cotton has been placed in the Liverpool market, with at the same time quite a probability that the guarantee fund would remain untouched, and with its accumulation ready for a similar service the succeeding year.

The hopes that have been entertained, that Cotton prepared from Flax, by Clausson's method, would supersede the slave grown staple, do not now seem likely to be realized, yet the friends and consumers of the products of Free Labour exclusively, may be gratified to learn, that through improvements in converting the hemp and in machinery for manufacturing it, a much more abundant and cheaper supply of linen fabrics is now likely soon to be placed in our market.

The Managers during the past year have been so deeply discouraged and disheartened by the want of active co-operation and support from others, from whom it is indeed due, that

they have, at times, thought it would be best to ask to be released by the Association from any further effort at service; but they have been encouraged in remembering that the Children of Israel, for a long time, compassed a mountain in the wilderness, before they were permitted to journey towards the promised land; and seven times did they pass around the walls of Jericho before the results of their faithfulness were made manifest. Let us all, therefore, press onward in doing what we can, relying on the correctness of the principles we advocate; not being too much disheartened by the absence of apparent fruit, but leaving the result to Him who will not fail to order it after the counsel of His own will.

Signed, by direction and on behalf
of the Board of Managers,

ISAAC H. ALLEN, *Secretary*,
New-York, 5th month 10th, 1853.

THE OBERLIN EVANGELIST.—We notice with great satisfaction the firm stand taken by this Journal against the use of Slave labor products. We always rejoice when an honest testimony to the Truth is borne: and the more so when, as in this instance, it is borne before a large audience. We are not prepared to tell the number of readers of the Evangelist, but it is to be stated in thousands, hence we may truly rejoice in its right-mindedness. The following article is stated in the Evangelist to be "an original article, recently spoken as College Exercise, in the regular monthly exhibitions, common in our College." We knew the fair child referred to, and truly her brief mission upon Earth was one of extraordinary beauty and efficiency, her strong and earnest intellect being devoted to the promotion of "Glory to God in the highest, peace on Earth and good will to men."—Her life was beautiful, made so by faith and love, and good works, and her passage out of time so glorious, that she might well be said "rather to have been translated than to have died."—[Ed.]

SLAVE LABOR PRODUCE.

In the town of F——, Ohio, lived a very respectable Quaker family, liberal in their political and religious opinions, and exhibiting, in the harmony and happiness of their household, an illustration of the bliss of heaven.

But their peace was interrupted by the illness of the mother, who one day as she was lying sick, called to her bedside, a little daughter, and requested her to bring her some sugar.

Rebecca hastened to obey, but while she was absent, a thought came into her mind, as it were by inspiration, and returning with a sad

countenance, she looked up to her mother and said:

"Mother, have not the poor little slaves labored to produce this sugar?"

"Slaves! my child!" said the mother; "it did come from the land of slavery; and perhaps the slaves have toiled and sweat over that very sugar."

The mother, whose heart flowed out in sympathy for the suffering bondman, felt that she could not consistently use the products of his unrequited toil, and thus support a system she so much abhorred. Rebecca, after a short life of much self-denial, died; but her mother recovered, and ever remembered the words of her little daughter. She had lived to sit at the tables not only of her surviving children, but of a large circle of friends, spread with the luxuries of free labor; and the ornament of that community, the rightly styled monument of Rebecca, is a flourishing free-labor store.

The course suggested by this simple story is one which we are aware, is regarded by many as impracticable, or if practiced, too inconvenient.

Others have not dared to investigate the subject, lest they should be convinced; but if, as we believe, it is a question of principle, it demands a serious investigation from every consistent Abolitionist, and every consistent Christian.

We speak and preach, pray and weep about slavery, and rightfully assert that every slaveholder who holds slaves in the blazing light of the nineteenth century, is in danger of hell-fire; and yet, do we not hold out inducements for him to continue his iniquitous practice; and are we not continuing to strengthen his hands, while he laughs at our professions?—Will he not tell us that the boasted anti-slavery men and fanatic Abolitionists of the North are his best consumers? That somebody must supply their constant demand for cotton, coffee, and other southern goods; and that he may do this and partake of the *profit* of slavery, as well as others the *products* of slavery! We do not *tell* the slaveholder to keep his slaves, that he may send us these articles as cheap as possible, but "actions speak louder than words," and if we would open our ears to hear, we might hear the response, or open our eyes to see, we might see it branded upon every barrel of southern sugar, "Support this our 'peculiar institution,' and and we will send you these articles cheaper than you can obtain them in any other way."

Go to yonder store, and the products of oppression will stare you in the face. Look! and you will see the pro-slavery pictures there exhibited.

Here sits a Lorain Free Soiler, reading the *Free Democrat*, with his chair leaning back upon a hogshhead of molasses—a very fit representation of the manner in which the slave power *props* up all minor parties that will accept its obligations. There sits the clerk reclining upon a huge pile of southern cotton, reading “Uncle Tom,” and in comes a customer and asks for coffee. The clerk, who is a very good abolitionist, spreads out the article, which he says is very cheap, selling it nearly at cost; and then if the poor slave could speak though that coffee, he might say, “Yes, it is cheap, but it cost me many a wearisome day, and restless night; and I shall always carry the price of that hogshhead of molasses on my back, and in my aching bones.”

And how many slaves does it take to keep us? It takes no less than forty slaves at work all the time, for nothing but a scourging, to supply Oberlin with sugar, rice, and other southern luxuries.

It is said that a slaveholder is entitled to three votes for every five slaves. Yes, it takes five slaves to make three slaveholders, and about forty Abolitionists to make one slave.

And beware how you talk about *abolition* over a dish of hot buckwheat cakes, when the molasses mug is near. But how many of us do it, and roll these dainties like a “sweet morsel under our tongues,” while the weary slave is toiling under the scorching sun of the South, to supply us with molasses to plaster the cakes of the next buckwheat harvest.

Some of our philanthropic and eloquent young men too, would exhaust their mental powers in pleading for the bondman; but every night they retire, and go to sleep in the very midst of the fruits of oppression, without even dreaming of *inconsistency*. And if these things be so, what shall we do! Is there no escape from such a dilemma! *There is.*

But we are met at the outset with the plea of necessity. “Total abstinence from slave products is an impossibility, unless we betake ourselves to the woods and live on roots and berries; free-labor goods too are so much dearer than slave-labor productions, that we could not keep up with the times and use the former.”

But shall we forget that in just so much as slave-labor products are cheaper than free grown goods, just so much do we practically participate in the profits of slavery? And if it is necessary to use these articles, is not the necessity equally as great that there should be slaves to produce them? And if it takes so many slaves to supply the *Abolitionists* now; how much more slave territory, and how many more slaves shall we need to support all the

young Abolitionists, and their families who, we flatter ourselves, will elect an Anti-Slavery President in 1856 or 1360! In anticipation, then, of such results, hear what the divine Revelator says:—“Come out of her, my people, that ye be not partakers of her sins; for her sins have reached unto Heaven, and God hath remembered her iniquities.”

“But we cannot come out, we cannot get free-labor goods: and if we could, they would cost so much more than slave-labor goods, that we could not deny ourselves cheap southern luxuries.”

With what degree of consistency, then, can we ask the slaveholder to let the bondman go free, while we, by refusing to make an insignificant sacrifice, are practically doing our utmost to rivet more firmly his chains—to stifle in his master’s breast the promptings of humanity by paying him the wages of oppression! And how can we pray God to melt the hard heart of the slaveholder, that he may liberate his slaves and thus deny himself a fortune, while we are not willing to deny ourselves a few cents?

This plea of necessity is so large that it covers all slave-dom, and so small that almost every Abolitionist carries it in his pocket. But can free-labor produce be obtained to supply us? An agent was sent out in 1849, by the Philadelphia Free-Labor Association, and he among the southern planters, stated his business without fear of any one, and the slaveholders bade him God speed, and said that they had no confidence in the faith of the hoasted nothern Abolitionists. “But,” said he, “reduce your professions to practice; go on.” And he went on, and found seventeen hundred bales of free cotton in one neighborhood; and after spying out the goodly land, he returned, bringing with him the rich fruits of the abused Paradise of America.

And now if a few Quakers can sustain a flourishing free-labor store, what ought, or what can two thousand Oberlin reformers do?

You who are known the world over as foremost in reforms, and to whom were he tears and sympathy of yesterday credited in heaven; but is there nothing against us on the debtor side of God’s book of remembrance? A little fugitive fled to us for refuge and died among us, but we had nothing but a slaveholder’s shroud in which to wrap the little deceased wanderer, in which yesterday it was borne to the silent tomb; and now it lies in yonder grave-yard, wrapt in the products of oppression, from the cultivation of which it had fled. And these products sold by Oberlin merchants! Then what ought or what can Oberlin reformers do?

They can support two free-labor stores, and thus carry out their principles and reduce them to practice.

The merchants of the earth have waxed rich through the abundance of the delicacies of slavery, and will our merchants plead that "the Oberlin students are poor, and therefore we must furnish them with goods as cheap as possible"? As well argue that Oberlin students have no principle, and are not able to sacrifice a few shillings in defence of what they have got. A libel! Bring on your honestly-acquired goods, and if we have not money to pay for them, we are not ashamed to chop some out of the forest. And you, my sisters, you, whose sympathies are ever alive to alleviate the sufferings of the downtrodden, will you hold out inducements to support oppression, and thus subject your black, sable, yet comely sisters of the south to be sent to Natchez, where a market is held as public, and disgraceful as was ever a fair at Constantinople?

"Shall we walk in glistening raiment,
Through untold oppression gained.
When by blood, and tears, and sorrow,
Every thread is stained?"

Does the glorious gospel message
Nothing holier impart
With its works of love and mercy
Written on the heart?

With its heaven-descended motto
Ever present to our view,
What ye would receive from others
That to others do?"

We would have the Free Labor principle applied to every kind of traffic in which it is becoming for conscientious Christians to engage, but we would heap barriers as high as Olympus between slavery and its market, for

"We feel that wrong with wrong partakes,
That nothing stands alone;
That whoso gives the motive, makes
His brother's sin his own."

And what would be the result of refusing goods, contaminated by slavery?

It would create an anti-slavery nucleus in the very heart of the South, and if as many argue, slavery must be abolished by degrees, this could not fail to be one of the most effectual and permanent agencies to rid our country of the most shameful sin. It would bring the non-slaveholders of the South into co-operation with us, and unless we can instill into them anti-slavery sentiments, our efforts to abolish slavery will be in vain. Then let the friends of freedom refuse all commercial intercourse with the workers of iniquity, until intercourse shall become congenial, and in less than half a century, slavery will be known, only as a frightful monstrosity in our past his-

tory; and the fertile South will become the seat of agricultural, manufacturing and mechanical industry, and the home of happy freemen.

R. CRUTTENDEN.

CASSIUS M. CLAY.

We are sure many will hear with pleasure what we learned during a recent sit-down with our old friend and fellow-laborer, C. M. Clay, that the emancipation of his slaves, some eight years ago, has quite unexpectedly to him, proved a profitable operation. Having been an extensive stock-rearing farmer for many years previously, and being every way surrounded and hedged in by Slavery and Slave Labor, he naturally supposed that the liberation of his slaves would subject him to embarrassment and probably loss of his farming operations. But his experience has dissipated all apprehensions. He finds no difficulty in hiring White Labor according to his need and at reasonable rates; he hires a portion of his former slaves for wages mutually satisfactory; his farm is considerably improved and still improving in fertility and productiveness; he cuts more Hay, has better Pasturage, keeps more Cattle and keeps them in better order than formerly; and whereas his farm used to run him in debt, or at least yield him no profit he is now making money by it. So much for a single experiment in emancipation, made under the most discouraging and embarrassing auspices—with Slavery and anti-Abolition prejudice hemming it in on every side, and with the least possible diversification of Labor among the surrounding community.

Mr. Clay's farm is in Madison County, Ky. (Whitehall P. O.) and we earnestly entreat Southern gentlemen especially planters, who are willing to know the truth, to visit it, to see how it compares in appearance with the average of those round it, take the testimony of the neighbors, and draw their own conclusions. We know well that but a part of the benefits of Emancipation can be experienced while Slavery is still upheld by law and prevalent custom; and yet we feel sure that Slaveholding is so enormous and glaring a blunder, that Emancipation will demonstrate its own wisdom even *without* fair play—half a chance will answer. If the growing of Cotton, Tobacco, Rice and Sugar were not enormously profitable—twice as remunerating at present prices as business generally is—buying 'hands' at \$1,000 each for such growing would ruin most of those embarked in it. If the master mechanics of this City were obliged to buy their workmen at \$1,000 each and then support them, giving them slave labor out of them, those

masters could not live, and New-York would soon be as deficient in Manufacturing Industry as Charleston and New-Orleans. From the first hour that the successful working of the Steam Engine was undoubted, Slavery has been a mistake, a prejudice, an anachronism. If twenty capable planters would agree to liberate all their slaves and work their plantations instead with the most intelligent Free Labor that good wages would demand, using none but the best implements and machinery, we feel confident that most of them would succeed, while the truth that Slave Labor is more profitable than Slave Labor, even in Louisiana or Texas, would thereby be established.

A quiet old Quaker gentleman informed us that he saw the two systems fairly tried side by side, in the fertile grain-growing region of Western Maryland, (his life long residence,) and that there could be no mistake nor doubt as to the result. A plantation of 1,000 fertile acres was farmed with average science and care by a planter who owned one hundred and ten slaves, (old and young, male and female) who raised a large crop of Grain and made a large amount of Pork; but they (with the family) ate it all up and wore it out, so that the planter only brought the year round by selling off two or three negroes each year, while his farm rather deteriorated. A little distance from this fair specimen of a Maryland planter, lived a Northern farmer, working 250 acres of just such land, and employing on it six first-rate, intelligent white farmers, with the wives of two or three to do the housework—all paid good wages. This man realized a handsome profit from each year's operations, while his farm, under thorough culture and high manuring, grew steadily better and better. And thirty years hence will very probably see the slaveholder's plantation cut up into manageable farms, owned respectively by the sons of the Northern farmer, while the sons of the slaveholder, will be wandering and plotting in Venezuela or Guiana with a view to the re-annexation of said country in order to extend the power and blessings of Slavery.

Let all court and come to the light of investigation.—*N. Y. Tribune.*

FAITHFULNESS IN QUOTATIONS.

I NOTICE in an American work, entitled "Historical Memoirs of the Society of Friends" (page 112,) that the dying words of James Naylor (breathing in so eminent a degree the heavenly spirit which they describe) are strangely abridged, without the insertion of stars or other marks to indicate the omissions. I noticed it with regret, because the original expressions appear to me to be quite free from

unprofitable redundancy; and the passage in its mutilated form might be committed to memory or transcribed by many readers who would fail to become acquainted with its full beauty and excellence. I therefore transcribe from Sewell's History the complete paragraph, *giving the rejected words in italics*, that those who possess the MEMOIRS may make the correction for themselves:—

"There is a spirit which I feel, that delights to do no evil, nor to revenge any wrong, but delights to endure all things, in hope to enjoy its own in the end. Its hope is to outlive all wrath and contention, and to weary out all exaltation and cruelty, or whatever is of a nature contrary to itself. *It sees to the end of all temptations. As it bears no evil in itself, so it conceives none in thought to any other: if it be betrayed it bears it; for its ground and spring are the mercies and forgiveness of God.* Its crown is meekness, its life is everlasting love unfeigned, and takes its kingdom with entreaty, and not with contention, and keeps it by lowliness of mind. In God alone it can rejoice, *though none else regard it, or can own its life. It is conceived in sorrow, and brought forth without any to pity it; nor doth it murmur at grief and oppression. It never rejoiceth but through sufferings; for with the world's joy it is murdered. I found it alone, being forsaken.* I have fellowship therein with them who lived in dens and desolate places of the earth, who through death obtained this resurrection, and eternal holy life."

Whilst I admit the right, and at times the propriety of abridgements, I have long been impressed with the importance of faithfulness in quotation, that nothing be attributed to any person which such individual did not actually write or say. And as the sense may be greatly changed, in some cases destroyed, by omitting a part, such omissions ought to be so marked as that the reader may be aware that the sentences do not follow each other exactly as written by the author. Nor when this rule is adhered to can the liberty be possessed to abridge in such a manner as to change the author's meaning. Those who have read the pamphlet called "CALUMNY REFUTED," will have seen a full exposition of the evils which may result from giving way to the habit of mutilation.

By this practice, wide-spread breaches have been made in the Church in America, separating even chief Friends. Controversial pamphlets have dealt unfairly with writings which they professed to quote or to review, and these pamphlets, read with unsuspecting confidence, have produced impressions not to be eradicated. Again, in some republications in that country

of the writings of our Friends, injustice has been done, for want, possibly of a full appreciation of the extent of an Editor's *right to alter*. To alter, I say, for so I consider it, when paragraphs or names are left out, which an author has deemed essential to a just record of his own life, unless, as before hinted, there are sufficient indications of abridgement. In the lives of T. Shillitoe, D. Wheeler, J. Barclay, and some others, as copied in the "Friends' Library," I have noticed these deficiencies, and regret them, as they lessen the value of a complete set of that otherwise invaluable series.

On this subject John Barclay, in a letter to a friend in Philadelphia, says (London, 2nd edition, page 263,) "With regard to cutting down some of our journals, &c., I have always looked upon this as a delicate or difficult matter to do unobjectionably. We are too apt, unconsciously to ourselves, to choose that which in our present state and turn of mind we are impressed with, or that which the present tendencies and exigencies of the times seem to us to call for; and possibly (for often it has been so,) to the unequal upholding of divine truth, or a partial exhibition of the character and line of testimony which a Friend in his life time maintained."

I have no doubt that many who have seemed to me to err in this respect have done so merely from a want of full reflection upon the subject in all its bearings; and therefore I am willing to embrace this occasion to call a little attention to it. To me it appears to be an obligation of morality, to deal justly with the words (written or spoken) of another man. Milton says, "almost as soon kill a man as kill a good book;" and I would add, almost rather kill the book than mutilate it, and pass it off for the production of the author. The rule I would imperatively lay down for making extracts from the writings of others, is this. *Never* bring together, to be read in continuity, sentences or words which were not placed together by their author. It is true that many a compiler may think himself able to retain or to improve the sense by condensing; but let such remember that many have thought themselves wise when they were not; and let me also ask, what right they have even to improve another's writings. The morality of the attempt is very questionable. When an author has passed away from earth, let him still speak for himself. Wrong him not by changing his words, when he is not here to take his own part. Two persons, of very different qualifications, but equally satisfied with themselves, may undertake the task of amendment. The bungler will suppose himself to have succeeded in his task. The more skilful work-

man would probably condemn him. The writer of these remarks would justify neither.

London Friend.

From An Essay on the Habitual Exercise of LOVE TO GOD as a Preparation for Heaven.—By J. J. GURNEY.

A high sense of honour, even in men of a worldly character, ought by no means to be undervalued; for it is right in itself, and greatly promotes the happiness of mankind. Yet how often do we find persons, who are by no means destitute of this quality, working abundance of ill to their neighbours! Under the influence of their respective passions, the duellist, the gamester, and the sensualist—although they may all *scorn* what they deem a breach of honour—have little hesitation in inflicting injuries on their fellow-creatures, which are utterly opposed to *immutable justice*. Hence we may perceive the true force of the apostle's doctrine, that all the laws which forbid our injuring other men, are briefly comprehended in this saying, namely, "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself." "Love," he adds, "worketh no ill to his neighbour;" therefore, "love is the fulfilling of the law." If this love had always prevailed among professing Christians, where would have been the sword of the crusader? WHERE the AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE? WHERE THE ODISIOUS SYSTEM WHICH PERMITS TO MAN A PROPERTY IN HIS FELLOW MEN, AND CONVERTS RATIONAL BEINGS INTO MARKETABLE CHATTELS?

Love, indeed, imparts both eyes and wings to justice. It is when our depraved affections are rectified, that we take an enlightened view of the relations of our fellow-men towards ourselves, and of the claims on our *justice*, which those relations involve. Again, it is love which makes us *swift* to shun the evil which justice forbids, and to do the good which she demands. At the same time, it cannot be denied, that under the *softening* touches of religion, charity and mercy are sometimes found to be easier to frail man than the *hardier virtue of strict integrity*. This is a point of danger which requires a peculiar guard, and which is too often neglected, to the great loss and injury of the cause of Christ. Let it ever be remembered, that the unbending maintenance of the *rule of right* towards our fellow-men, is the *first* and *most indispensable* result of that holy law: "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself."

"A Southern Woman's" reply to the address of the Duchess of Sutherland and other English women.

This letter is published at length in the N. Y. Evening Post of the 18th ult., with a full editorial endorsement of the authoress as "one of the most respectable and influential ladies

of N. Orleans and widely known for unassuming religion and active benevolence."—We regret that we have room only for extracts.

I have been waiting and watching to see who would respond to this address, or whether it would not be communicated to us in a more formal manner, till, at length, my longing curiosity is satisfied by the appearance of the letter of Mrs. Julia Gardner Tyler.

This comes from the right quarter. She holds the highest position—the wife of an Ex-President—that our constitution will admit of, and may with perfect propriety take the lead in replying to the address of the women of England to the women of America on the subject of African Slavery. It is happily, however, one of the beautiful features of our republican form of government, that—without any conventional grant—we are individually sovereigns, in matters of opinion, and may with equal propriety claim the same privilege of expressing them, that she is entitled to, with no other fears than the loss of popularity with those from whom we may be so unfortunate as to dissent. Acting, then, upon these principles, I shall venture to advance sentiments that will conflict with some of my country-women's views. Nevertheless, I am urged on to do it by the sure knowledge that there are very many of them—I think I may truthfully say a majority—some southern women—noble specimens—who feel with me a decided and unconquerable aversion to the system of Slavery, as it exists in these Southern States, and who would wish so to be represented, and who are deeply grieved to see the favor it obtains, not only from those on whose hearts the spirit of Christianity has not operated, but from professed followers of Jesus Christ, a portion of whom sustain it, most lamentably so, because, they say, on Bible principles.

We, then, embracing such portions of my country-women as coincide with me in opinion on this subject of African Slavery, acknowledged to have received your address in the same spirit of kindness in which we believe it was dictated. We do not believe that the "fingers of statesmen" guided it, or that political subtlety was its object. We are unwilling to attribute such unworthy motives to your husbands, fathers, or brothers, as to suppose that they would make you their willing dupes. We do believe that it was the honest dictation of sympathy for the sufferings and moral degradation of our Slaves.

As a nation, ladies, you are justly entitled to a large share of this guilt—the largest share of it—because you have fastened it on us. We appreciate your acknowledgment of it. Deeds have spoken it, as well as words. We also appreciate your hint of the enlightened age of the 19th century; for we do not believe in the doctrine, that we would have done right if we had not been admonished of doing wrong. We believe if the disposition exists to do right, that no misguided zeal of sympathizers would be able so easily to turn us from our purposes, (admitting it to be such;) such doctrine has been most successfully applied to the much hated and contemned abolitionists, to whom the slave owes his ameliorated condition. His physical condition has been much improved for the last twenty years. His spiritual condition is receiving some considerable attention from some quarters—with a strict guard upon his intellectual condition. We, who profess to wish their emancipation, are teaching them, as far as we can, within limits of law—some few go beyond it—and we are aiming to treat them kindly. We look to Liberia as the best home for them; but we do not prohibit any other, to which they would wish to go or stay. We here propose to those who favor the Liberian scheme for abolishing Slavery, (of which we think most highly,) to let us see them put it in practice. Let them go immediately to work, and teach them, prepare them for Liberia, and send them away. Then we will believe in their sincerity. But, alas! while we can see

from one of our broadest streets, suspended from the tops of the houses, across the street, a pennon, bearing in large letters this inscription: TALBOT'S SLAVE DEPOT—with the lower floor filled with men and women for sale—specimens of them at the doors—and the very high prices which these victims now command—we fear that Virginia and the other exporting States will send down more Slaves for Talbot, than free men for Liberia.

After a suitable appeal to northern and southern Christians, politicians, and mothers, a reference to the reluctance with which the framers of our Constitution introduced the clause "Persons bound to labor," &c., to the emancipation of his Slaves by "our model man, our loved Washington" and to enormities well known as of common occurrence, she proceeds:

Such things are not the alleged fictions of Uncle Tom's Cabin. They are undeniable truths! and because they are truths, we ask you, Christians, politicians, mothers, to think of them. Ponder over them, and lend your aid to abolish so horrid a system, which we believe to be, from a personal knowledge with it, in almost all its phases, what Pitt said it was. "A mass, a system of enormities, which incontrovertibly bids defiance to any regulation which ingenuity can devise, or power effect, but a total extinction." While I write this, my thoughts reach to the many scenes that would rival those delineated in Uncle Tom's Cabin; the truth of which delineations I dare not disavow, though romantically told. The very many exceptions of kind treatment which Slaves receive from very many families—which I am too happy in acknowledging—is no excuse for Christians to sustain a system, that puts it in the power of so many others, that are not disposed to treat them kindly, and who do treat them cruelly. Their physical sufferings even then, are nothing compared to their moral degradation.

The retort, to look at home and take care of your own poor, with which animadversions on your address to us so copiously abound, might have been more courteously said, notwithstanding it deserves attention. I am quite willing to think that, individually, you do so; but for your government, ladies, I do not feel so charitably disposed: that is grasping, oppressive, conservative; guarding every avenue to wealth and power for one class, regardless of another; shrinking from giving any aid to struggling nations for freedom, though feelingly appealed to; supporting expensive armies out of the labor of the poor, with the bayonet ready to stop their mouths, should they complain too loudly; crippling the industrious classes by taxation, in whose keeping is the wealth of the kingdom, if they knew it—for labor is the capital of the kingdom; tacking on tariff after tariff, to make the rich richer, and the poor poorer; and last, though not least, is the church monopoly. But, amidst all this mass of parliamentary action for maintaining aristocratic power, there is one redeeming trait: you have made the individual free; for there is an individuality in the act of one man's making another man his property, and using him as such, to all intents and purposes, that marks it distinctly, and attaches to it the just opprobrium of meanness, selfishness, cruelty and injustice.

We are not yet ready to think that we are in as deplorable a condition of sin and wretchedness, as the Israelites were when Josiah said to them, "None calleth for justice, nor any pleadeth for truth." We will yet call for justice! and we will plead for truth!

And now, ladies, we will make an appeal to you. It is for your intercession that we, our husbands, fathers, and brothers may all be directed so to think on this great question of African Slavery, as God would have

us to think, and so act as God would have us to act.—And in reference to your own country, where many things exist that we are unwilling to think that you approve of, we will most cordially unite with you in the same petition.

A SOUTHERN WOMAN.

The Southern Baptist Convention, recently held at Baltimore, appointed a committee to memorialize the government in favor of securing religious liberty to all Americans in foreign countries; declined co-operating, in the matter of domestic missions, with the Northern Baptists, because of the opposition of the latter to slaveholding in the church; rejected a memorial to encourage the education of slaves; and resolved to further the distribution of the word of God "in foreign lands." A Southern friend informs us that it is customary in the Baptist churches, in South Carolina, to solicit contributions from the slaves, in behalf of missions to the heathen. In the same State, it is, we believe, a penitentiary offence to teach a slave to read.—*Daily Register*.

MISSISSIPPI HUNTING.

Killing Property on Suspicion.—A Mississippi Paper, the Clinton Whig, gives with the simple dignified unconcern of mere narration, the following incident. We could wish that the Whig had so far relaxed its non-committal reserve as to intimate whether the transaction was to be considered a christian, a democratic or a humane one. The *Freeman* thinks that the picture will not be regarded as "abolition exaggeration." We are not so certain that the mere quotation of the paragraph by an abolitionist, will not by some be regarded as an "exaggeration."

[Ed.]

Two citizens of Port Hudson, learning that a negro was at work on a flat boat loading with sand just below that place, who was suspected as being a runaway, went down in a skiff for the purpose of arresting him. Having seized him and put him in the skiff, they started back, but had not proceeded far, when the negro, who was at the oars, seized a hatchet and assaulted one of them, wounding him very seriously. A scuffle ensued, in which both parties fell overboard. They were both rescued by the citizen pulling to them with the skiff. Finding him so unmanageable, the negro was put ashore, and the parties returned to Port Hudson for arms and a pack of negro dogs, and started again with the intention to capture him. They soon got on his trail, and when found again he was standing at bay upon the outer edge of a large raft of drift wood, armed with a club and pistol. In this position he bade defiance to men and dogs—knocking the latter into the water with his club, and resolutely threatening death to any man who approached him. Finding him obstinately determined not to surrender, one of his pursuers shot him. He fell at the third fire, and so determined was he not to be captured, that when an effort was made to rescue him from drowning he made battle with his club, and sunk waving his weapon in angry defiance at his pursuers. He refused to give the name of his owner.

Precedent and authority, not Divinity sanctioned, are the refuge of a weak understanding. One sound argument is worth a thousand precedents.—*Samuel Drew*.

In forty cities and towns in Scotland, every 149 of the population support a dram-shop, while it requires 981 to keep a baker, 1067 to support a butcher, and 2281 to sustain a bookseller.—*Edinburgh News*.

From the National Era.

THE MADIAT AND THE SLAVES.

In one of the Southern States, a few weeks ago, a small party sat down to supper, when one of the ladies related to the company the case of the Madiat, which now seems to be attracting the attention of Christendom.—About half the number of persons present were Anti-Slavery, and the other Pro-Slavery. All seemed to receive the account with deep feeling, and a part with high indignation, as the following colloquy (literally given) will show:

Pro-Slavery. Do you say those people were charged with no offence but reading the Bible, and, in consequence of that, leaving the Romish Church?

Anti-Slavery. I do.

Pro. Those people ought to be burnt.

Anti. Ought to be burnt?

Pro. Yes, those who imprison people for reading the Bible ought to be burnt.

Anti. But remember it is not the *people*, but the *law*, that imprisons them.

Pro. Then the *law* ought to be burnt; and if I was there I would burn it.

Anti. But recollect we have the same law here.

Pro. What do you say!

Anti. I say we have the same law here—a law that forbids a *part* of our population to read the Bible!

Not another word was spoken during the supper. After retiring from the table, another Pro-Slavery member of the company broke the very embarrassing silence, by saying, Well, that is a most abominable law; and the truth is, if I owned slaves, I would teach them to read the Bible in defiance of law.—*A North Carolina Woman*.

THE NON-SLAVEHOLDER.

PHILADELPHIA, SIXTH MONTH, 1, 1853.

THE AMERICAN TRACT SOCIETY AND AMERICAN SLAVERY.

Under this caption the Oberlin Evangelist, of 5th mo. 11th has a good editorial, which, according due honor to the Society "for the much good they have done," treats with kindness, yet with Christian *unreserve* their policy respecting the subject of Slavery, and quotes the following paragraph from Judge Jay's let-

ter to the Cor. Sec., in reply to an application for funds in aid of said Society.

"I know not that in the twenty-seven years of its existence this Society has published a line intended to touch the conscience of an American slave-breeder or trader. On the contrary, especial care has been taken to *expunge* from your reprints every expression that could even imply a censure on our stupendous national iniquity. The Society has no hesitation in condemning cruelty, oppression and injustice, but it shrinks with affright at the very idea of acknowledging that it is cruel, oppressive and unjust to reduce a *black* man to the condition of a beast of burden, to deny him legal marriage, and to sell him and his children to the highest bidder, in company with the beasts of the field. This extreme sensitiveness is shown in the alteration of a passage in your reprint of Gurney's essay on the habitual exercise of love to God. Gurney says: 'If this love had always prevailed among professing Christians, where would have been the sword of the crusader? *Where the African slave trade?* Where the odious system which permits to man a property in his fellow men, and converts rational beings into marketable chattels?' (Page 142.) This was meat too strong for the digestion of the Society, and hence it was carefully diluted, so that it might be swallowed without producing the slightest nausea, as follows: 'If this love had always prevailed among professing Christians, where would have been the sword of the crusader? *Where the tortures of the Inquisition?* Where every system of oppression and wrong by which he who has the power revels in luxury and ease at the expense of his fellow-men?' (Page 199.) It was an ingenious thought to turn upon the *Inquisition* Gurney's application of his subject to slave traders and holders, and to lose sight of *property in man* in indefinite generalities."

We cannot, without sincere regret, direct a stroke of our pen against a Society which we have been accustomed to regard, and which we still regard, with affection; and, in the spirit of kindness, invoking upon the labors of the Tract Society that fullness of divine blessing which may be expected to attend *perfectly honest* efforts to promote the spread and adoption of the *whole* truth, we commend to their consideration the testimonies which their compromising policy has elicited from various quarters.

But, apart from our desire that, on *all* proper occasions, by *all* moral agents, an honest testimony may be borne against Slavery, we take this occasion to urge, *on the ground of morality*, a solemn protest against the existence of the right to mutilate the writings of an author, and, without his knowledge, to publish them to the world as though they had proceeded in such form from his brain, and from his heart. And the wrong may, perhaps, be said to increase in proportion to the excellence of the writer whose sayings are thus perverted, and is still deepened, when the author has ceased from his mortal labors and cannot therefore defend himself from the injustice. Joseph John Gurney was not only a christian, but he was also an *eminent* Christian. From a prominent and elevated position he addressed his fellow beings, the Spirit of Christ impelling him, the love of Christ constraining him to

reason with them, and to exhort them concerning the things pertaining to their peace and salvation. Not only was he as a theologian "in doctrine uncorrupt," but he was complete in his moral code, and, in a world-embracing view of the prominent evidences of departure from "love to God," he could not have specified the Crusades and the Inquisition and omitted Slavery. To make him appear to do so, is weakening his testimony and lowering his standard: is wronging his memory, and is wronging the human race. But, if the liberty taken with his book consists not merely in an omission, but also in the insertion (as part of this admirable paragraph) of words which he did not write, it seems to us a sort of forgery, and recalls Major Downing's indignant outburst: "Any man who would put my name to his letters, I think would steal a sheep."

Nor is our objection, as at present urged, a mere abstraction. The injustice done is *real*, —practical. The Society's stereotyped edition of "Love to God as a preparation for Heaven," has absorbed the American publication of the work to the exclusion of reliable editions, and we regret to confess that we have repeatedly purchased it for circulation, entertaining no doubts of its integrity. We can scarcely conceive of a greater wrong to an author, than to alter his writings. Admit the right to do so, and who can estimate the extent to which this cushioning of the clubs designed for the bruising of the Serpent's head, may be carried. How insidiously might Truth be weakened in what were else her most impregnable defences! The writer of the book in question has been assailed by pamphleteers, who have attempted to sustain false charges of heresy on certain points (which he understood as fully as his assailants,) by mutilated and garbled extracts from his writings. But *his works could be referred to, and honest and logical minds could judge for themselves*. But if perverted and altered editions of his works are put into circulation as genuine,—not only may the religious reputation of the writer be impaired or misappreciated, but the testimony of an exalted christian, after he has gone to his eternal reward, may be turned against the truth which he advocated, and, by implication, seem to be given in favor of sentiments which he abhorred.

We introduce, in another column, as further illustrating this subject, an Essay on "*Faithfulness in quotations*," taken from the London Friend.

DON'T WANT TO BE FREE.

It is noticable that a particular class of persons, after travelling southward, return with

their testimony against Slavery mitigated. They have been entertained with flattering hospitality, and the darkest side of the picture has been kept as much as possible from their view :

"As Irish country squires, they say,
Whene'er the Vice-Roy passes nigh,
Compound with beggars by the way
To be shut up till he goes by,
And so send back his Lordship, marvelling
That Ireland should be deemed so starvelling."

We can almost judge beforehand, by the character of his mind, what sort of report a Southward-bound traveller will bring back to us from the land of oppression. But our present object is to introduce a passage from a long and admirable letter communicated by A. BARNARD for *The Christian Press*.

"I can bear testimony to the truth of 'Uncle Tom's Cabin,' at least, in so far as to say, that the picture has not been overdrawn. Indeed, no language can describe the horrors and abominations of Slavery. It did not fall to my lot to see a George Shelby, but I have no doubt there are some like him in the South. Legree has many 'counterparts.'"

I went there as a *workman*, and, consequently, had a good opportunity to see Slavery *as it is*. The slaveholder is not careful to hide from *workmen* the atrocities of his "peculiar institution," inasmuch as he considers them little above the slaves themselves. But he spares no pains to hide them from "strange gentlemen," especially those from the North. Hence, many are so deceived and hoodwinked, that they return home with a good opinion of Slavery. It is done in the following way : The slaveholder is very hospitable—will often help a stranger for days and weeks, free of cost, showing him all the beauties of his system, taking care that he does not see the "other side of the picture." He finally tells him that he may find out to his satisfaction, by asking the slaves themselves what they think of Slavery, &c. So the stranger goes to the "hands" and interrogates them as follows: "Well, boys, how do you like your work? O, berry well, massa." "Dont you have to work hard?" "O no, massa, we no hab to work hard; we berry well off, old 'boss' berry kind man," &c. "Wouldn't you like to be free?" "O, no, no, massa, we no want to be free, we lub massa too much to leeb him," &c. &c. This is all done with so much gravity and appearance of honesty, by the slaves, that the "stranger" goes away, convinced "that Slavery is not so bad after all," and by the time he steps over "Masons and Dixon's line" he is become a good apologist for Slavery, and is ready to run the soles of his shoes off at the call of that infamous Bill, to catch and drag back into hope-

less bondage, those who 'don't want to be free!'

The secret of the matter is, the slaves are compelled to tell such falsehoods, in order to escape a terrible flogging. The master knows this, and therefore feels safe in sending a stranger to ask them. The slaves are afraid of all white men, and dare not tell any one how they look upon their wrongs. It was not until I had shown them, by many kind words, looks, and acts, that I was indeed their friend, that I gained their confidence enough to get the truth out of them on the subject. They then told me that they had been so many times betrayed by whites, that they dare not tell them their minds. I saw many hundreds of slaves and conversed with many, but *no one* who said he did not want to be free. I talked with those who had been brought from nearly every slave State in the Union, and of course had an opportunity to learn what they thought of Slavery, even in its mildest form. The result has been, no loss of shoe leather in chasing the poor fugitive back into remediless bondage, but contrariwise, in helping him on towards the 'land of freedom.'"

We make room for one further extract from A. B's letter, to show the conclusions at which he has arrived.

"Judging from the data I have, I am brought to the following syllogism. Whatever increases the market for the products of slave labor, tends to perpetuate Slavery. The use of the products of Slavery increases the market for the products of slave labor. Therefore, the use of the products of Slavery tends to perpetuate Slavery. Again, whatever tends to perpetuate Slavery is incompatible with abolitionism. The use of the products of Slavery tends to perpetuate Slavery: therefore, the use of the products of Slavery is incompatible with abolitionism."

FULL TESTIMONY FROM THE SOUTH.

A citizen of Alabama and native of Virginia writes over his proper signature the following letter to the Editors of the New York Evening Post. It is one of many testimonies by Slaveholders to the truthfulness of H. B. Stowe's picture. We are no apologists for novel writing, we think that there is truth enough in the world for all moral purposes, but we fully believe that the book referred to partakes much less of *fiction* than those who have not investigated its history suppose. Many of its narratives are absolute facts, with only a change of names; its pictures are drawn with fidelity, and at the same time in no accusing spirit, but with great liberality toward slaveholders; and let it be borne in mind that a great part of the

power of the work consists in passages of fine and irresistibly impressive moral and religious sentiment, which are in no sense and in no degree fictitious, and which, as lovers of pure and holy truth, we may very safely admit into our hearts. We have avoided any commendation of "Uncle Tom," because we do not wish to give an indirect sanction to religious novels, nor to any departure from most perfect truthfulness for the advancement of the Truth. At the same time we have perused with regret and disapproval some notices of "Life among the lowly," in which some correct general remarks upon the subject of *fiction*, have been connected with really *unfair* and *unjust* remarks respecting the book in question. We give the Alabama letter, not as endorsing *every* expression (we would not be understood as endorsing all that we quote,) but because we believe it to be a candid and important witness against Slavery, such as is entitled to a hearing and to full credence. In a recent conversation between two citizens of Virginia, (one of them our personal friend) one of them remarked rather cautiously, that there was "a good deal of Truth in Uncle Tom after all."—The other responded, "Don't you *know* that every word of it is true?—Don't you know that every word of it can be substantiated, without going off this plantation?"

—, ALABAMA, May, 8th, 1853.

To the Editors of the *Evening Post* :

I have just finished a perusal of "Uncle Tom's Cabin." I read every word to my wife. I will not attempt to describe to you her feelings. We are slaveholders. The moment the steamer with George Harris and Eliza his wife touched the Canada shore, three shouts for liberty, to the tops of our voices, rent the air.

Every man, woman and child, white and black, in the southern states, can bear testimony to the truth of the portrait which Mrs. Stowe, God bless her! has drawn of slavery. One of not the least excellencies of the book is, that a Christian, of the highest style, standing side by side with Wilberforce and Miss Hannah More, leads the reader by the hand through the habitations of cruelty that lie before our eyes. He or she can then draw a contrast between the Christian and a mistress and mother, who was some years since a near neighbour of mine, who owned a little negro girl. *She would heat the tongs, and pull the flesh off her body with them.*

I durst affirm that if his Satanic majesty were put upon his *voir dire* he would confess that slavery is one of the works of the devil which Christ was manifested in the flesh to destroy.

In my opinion, "Uncle Tom's Cabin" is

destined to have a greater influence for good than any one single book that has been published since the close of the canon of Scripture.

* * * The reader at once penetrates the deep meaning of the parable of the servant that took his fellow-servant by the throat, who owed him a few pence; of the good Samaritan, and of Dives and Lazarus. Mrs. Stowe has ended her book just as she should have done. She has suggested no plan of emancipation further than the example of young George Shelby goes. She has left the duty and responsibility just where St. Paul, in his letter to Philémon, left it, on the slave owner.

Our warmest thanks and best wishes to Mrs. Stowe, whom generations unborn will rise up and call "blessed."

Very respectfully, &c.,

Our English Exchanges give evidence of much activity in the British Isles upon the subject of Temperance. In the islands of Portland, Jersey, and Guernsey, important demonstrations are making. In the latter island the Bristol Temperance Herald notices seven "impressive and effective" addresses by a "*Mrs. Theobald*" to crowded audiences. Throughout England Scotland and Ireland a commendable zeal appears to prevail. Our well beloved Neal Dow is held in deserved esteem, and the Royal sanction has been given to a legal enactment; "*THE NEW BRUNSWICK ANTI-LIQUOR LAW*,"—which is designed to emulate *THE MAINE LAW*, but which, *excepting malt-liquor and cider from its restrictions*, must be very partial in its benefit.

The King of Sweden has communicated with the State of Maine, requesting information relative to the operation of the Prohibitory Liquor Law upon crime, pauperism and the general interests of that noble State.

SPIRIT RAPPINGS.—The New Jersey Reformer gives, under this caption, a goodly string of cases of effectual rappings upon the heads of Spirit Casks in different parts of the Green Mountain State, followed by a significant outpouring of the *Spirit*.

A friend of JEFFERSON COUNTY, OHIO, after expressing kind sentiments of approval of the course pursued in the Non-Slaveholder, bestows very just encomiums upon the Memorial of S. Rhoads, E. Lewis and others, given on page 27.—We quite agree with our correspondent that the proposition therein contained is fraught with magnanimity, and ought to be so accepted by our Southern brethren. Admitting as it does our partnership in the great business of Slavery, and frankly offering to meet the

Slave States in their own time, and to share with them any losses to be sustained by Emancipation, proposing, moreover, a fair and unobjectionable mode of assessing damages, and of determining the sum to be paid out of the National Treasury,—the signers must be admitted to have extended the Olive branch so amiably, that no reasonable Slaveholder will be irritated or repelled. We think with H—that there is (to use the ancient orthography of a significant word) much of *right-wise-ness* in the proposal. We trust, too, that seminal truth has been thrown into soil in which, (though the husbandman may wait long) it will finally germinate.

And they that be wise shall shine as the brightness of the firmament,—and they that turn many to righteousness as the stars forever and ever.—DANIEL xii. 3.

There is an order of intelligence
More high, more pure than man has e'er conceived !
When the Eternal Author first resolved
To people the dread loneliness of space,
Then He created beings, glorious, bright,
Worthy companionship in bliss with Him.
These are the STARS OF MORNING, who for joy
Sang at the extension of their Father's glory,
When they behold our new created world.
It may be some of these have fallen from light :—
("Satan I saw like light'ning fall from Heaven :")
And he, once bright among the stars of morning,
Found doubtless at Creation's dawn his birth.)
But those who, through the inconceivable lapse
Of ages, have continued, until now,
From the beginning perfect,—even as He
Who gave them life's benevolent boon is perfect,
Must be most glorious of created beings,
Of nearest kindred to the Fount of Glory.
These, having never sinned, have never sorrowed,
Nor known an hour's abatement of their bliss.
The will divine has not been hid from them,
And quick obedience followed its conception.
Thus, with alacrity and eager joy,
Without a thought of compromise or doubt,
But rather with anticipating zeal,
His will is done in Heaven ! Speed, speed the day
In thine own time, oh Thou who canst not err,
And make our wills subservient to thine own !
To them obedience constitutes delight,
And brings its own reward, for it has given
To blest existence still a heightened bliss !
Partaking of Divine benevolence,
Their bliss has increase as His Kingdom spreads,
And beings capable of happiness
Enlarge Creation's catalogue. And thus
They sang together, shouting in their joy,
When they beheld a world, which had become
"Formless and void," created o'er again,
And Heaven's high Architect pronounced it good.
And, at the extacy of their glad songs,
All Paradise with added rapture thrills,
When an immortal leaves his sinfulness,

Sheds penitent tears, and, in humility,
Assumes Christ's easy yoke and learns of Him.
His goodness how adorable, who placed
Salvation's means within our reach, and gave
His angels, blest already, to rejoice
In man's acceptance of His terms of Grace !

Such are the high intelligences there !
And those on Earth who most resemble them
From kindred sources draw their chiefest joy.
They find it in performing Heaven's behest.
They find it, when the flood of gospel light
Spreads from the frozen North to South-Sea Isles,
From western Pagan lands to Moslem shrines.
They fain would urge that flood, and speed the day
When, as the waters spread o'er Ocean's floor,
So Righteousness shall overflow the Earth.

There have been holy men in every age
Whose chief employ in life has been to turn
Their fellow men to righteousness. The SEER
OF RAMA,—and the SHEPHERD PSALMIST KING,—
SAUL,—and the valiant APOSTOLIC BAND.—
ERASMUS,—and MELANCTHON,—FENELON,—
LUTHER,—A'KEMPIS,—WHITFIELD,—strong in faith,—
WESLEY,—and NEWTON and his brother Bard,—
FOX,—fraught with holy zeal and faith, and nerved
With strength from Heaven, anointed of the Lord
And girded for the combat,—who made war
With human pride, and held the standard up
Of the pure primitive gospel,—breaking down
Tradition's holds and Error's resting place,
And, noble in profound humility,
Leading, like teachable children, lofty men
To learn of Him the meek and lowly one ;
And many, who, o'er mountain vale and plain,
Preach Christ's unsearchable riches, and proclaim
Glad tidings of great joy to all mankind.

When these shall put on immortality,
They shall be added to the firmament.
They shall be clustered with the stars which shone
From the beginning, and with them shall shine
Forever and forever.

W. J. A.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.—Friends must have patience with us : some are too late, some are crowded out, and some favors are too long, and some have to be omitted from reasons quite unconnected with our estimate of their intrinsic merit.

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Printed at the Gazette Office, Burlington, N. J.

THE NON-SLAVEHOLDER.

"Whoso gives the motive, makes his brother's sin his own."

VOL. I.—NEW SERIES.]

PHILADELPHIA, SEVENTH MONTH, 1853.

[No. 7.]

WILLIAM J. ALLINSON, EDITOR.

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AN APPEAL FOR THE BONDWOMAN,

TO HER OWN SEX.

BY ELIZABETH LLOYD, JR.

"The slave, the slave hath many wrongs—
Where might her pleader be?"—*Lucy Hooper.*

PART I.

MOTHER ! pleading for the dumb,
Unto thee for aid we come ;
For the captive and oppressed
We would break upon thy rest ;
For thy suffering sex's sake,
In thy bosom we would wake
Sympathy so deep and strong
As should count thine own, their wrong.

Christian Lady, at thy gate,
Troubadour from far we wait ;
Bend thine ear, and we will tell,
As we touch our light guitar,
Tidings woman loveth well,
All of Freedom's righteous war ;
We will sing to thee and thine
Lays of Freedom's Palestine ;
Pilgrim from the Holy Land
Where her brave crusaders stand
For the fettered lip and hand,
Messages to thee we bear
From the tried and faithful band
Who are doing battle there,
And through toil and weariness
To the Captive's rescue press.

Oh ! their path is long and dreary,

And their feet are growing weary,—
Hearts of proof are almost failing,—
And their arms in dust are trailing,
As they still behold afar
Prison gates they would unbar.

Mother ! they invoke thy aid !
Not to bear the battle blade,
Aim a spear, or break a lance,
For the slave's deliverance,
But to train thy little child,
'Ere the world shall have beguiled
From thy side the precious trust,
For the armies of the just.
If the Hebrew mother chanted
Israel's glory to her child,
Till the thirsting spirit panted
And the bounding heart grow wild
For the path her warriors trod,
Guided by the living God,—
If the Roman matron gave,
At her country's high behest,
To the camp or to the wave
All in life beloved best,—
Shall the Christian mother bind
Down to some low, narrow aim,
Warm young heart and dawning mind,
Till our country's deep'ning shame
To its children will be less
Than the gains of selfishness ?

Leader of the household flock ;
By thy God ordained to stand
As the shadow of a rock
To a young depending band,
Can thine eye, undimmed, behold
Woman's agony and fear,
When the wolf hath tracked her fold,
And no rescuer is near ?
Brooding o'er the household nest,
Canst thou calmly sit at rest,
Heedless of that robbed one's groan,
Of the childless mother's moan,
When her empty arms to thee
Are outstretched imploringly ?—
By the daily blessings shed
On thy house and on thy head,
By the joys that crown thy hearth
As a holy spot on earth,
Happy, virtuous, and free !
In thy gratitude to God,
Who hath kindly dealt with thee,

Lent the staff but spared the rod,—
Teach thy little ones to feel !
Early let thy touch unseal
All those springs of tenderness
Given by our Father's love,
Every living thing to bless
In their path ordained to move.

If thou hast a noble boy,
Stealing ever from his play,
Picture-book and childish toy,
To some chosen haunt away,
Where he finds on ancient page,
Chivalry's departed age,
Warms o'er tale of knightly deed,
Hears the tramp of battle steed,
Trumpet call to "holy war,"
Clash of sword and scimitar,—
Tell him of those valiant men,
Conq'rors by the lip and pen,
Warriors of the stone and sling,
Sent among mankind to bring
Down the Philistine of wrong :
In their lofty purpose strong,
Calm of mind and brave of heart,
Teach him how they deal the blow,
Teach him how they speed the dart,
Truth's defyer to lay low.
If it be thy lot to guide
Hand in hand and side by side
With that spirit high and bold
One of Nature's softer mould,
Whose heart's windows will unclose
Only when the south wind blows,
When she seeks thy ready knee
In some pause of childhood's glee,
While the welcome form is pressed
To a momentary rest,
And the little fingers twine
Close and lovingly with thine,
In a gentle voice and mild
Tell her of the Captive's child,
Whose tiny form is uncaressed,
Whose lip in love is rarely pressed,
Who sits neglected day by day,
And wears its little life away,
With none to cherish, no one near,
To hush the wail or wipe the tear.

Oh ! if thou hast ever known,
How a mother's faintest tone
Lives upon the inward ear
Like no other sound we hear,—
If memory doth ever stray
From things of now and yesterday
O'er thine own childhood's guarded way ;
If thou hast ever looked within
The foldings of a worldly heart,
To find, beneath its stains of sin,
And coverings of time and art,

The lines thy mother's pencil traced,—
Let every picture uneffaced,
To its own spotless surface given,
By her who with the undefiled,
Now sitteth at the gate of Heaven
To watch the coming of her child ;
Let every clear and vivid line,
Which all thy better nature stirs,
Incite thee to bequeath to thine,
Such memories as live for hers.

HYPOTHETICAL FIRE IN BOSTON.

FROM H. B. STOWE'S "KEY."

* * * * *

But will it be said, "The abolition enterprise was begun in a wrong spirit, by reckless, meddling, impudent fanatics" ? Well, supposing that this were true, how came it to be so ? If the church of Christ had begun it *right*, these so-called fanatics would not have begun it *wrong*. In a deadly pestilence, if the right physicians do not prescribe, everybody will prescribe,—because something must be done. If the Presbyterian Church, in 1818 had pursued the course the Quakers did, there never would have been any fanaticism. The Quakers did all by brotherly love. They melted the chains of Mammon only in the fires of a divine charity. When Christ came into Jerusalem, after all the mighty works that he had done, while all the so-called better classes were non-committal or opposed, the multitude cut down branches of palm-trees and cried Hosanna ! There was a most indecorous tumult.—The very children caught the enthusiasm, and were crying Hosannas in the temple. This was contradictory to all ecclesiastical rules. It was a highly improper state of things. The Chief Priests and Scribes said unto Jesus, "Master, speak unto these that they hold their peace." That gentle eye flashed as he answered, "I TELL YOU, IF THESE SHOULD HOLD THEIR PEACE, THE VERY STONES WOULD CRY OUT."

Suppose a fire bursts out in the streets of Boston, while the regular conservators of the city, who have the keys of the fire-engines, and the regulation of fire-companies, are sitting together in some distant part of the city, consulting for the public good. The cry of fire reaches them, but they think it a false alarm. The fire is no less real, for all that. It burns, and rages, and roars, till everybody in the neighborhood sees that something must be done. A few stout leaders break open the doors of the engine-houses, drag out the engines, and begin, regularly or irregularly, playing on the fire. But the destroyer still advances. Messengers come in hot haste to the hall of these deliberators,

and, in the unselect language of fear and terror, revile them for not coming out.

"Bless me!" says a decorous leader of the body, "what horrible language these men use!"

"They show a very bad spirit," remarks another; "we can't possibly join them in such a state of things."

Here the more energetic members of the body rush out, to see if the thing be really so; and in a few minutes come back, if possible more earnest than the others.

"O! there is a fire!—a horrible, dreadful fire! The city is burning,—men, women, children, all burning, perishing! Come out, come out! As the Lord liveth, there is but a step between us and death!"

"I am not going out; everybody that goes gets crazy," says one.

"I've noticed," says another, "that as soon as anybody goes out to look, he gets just so excited,—I won't look."

But by this time the angry fire has burned into their very neighborhood. The red demon glares into their windows. And now, fairly aroused, they get up and begin to look out.

"Well, there is a fire, and no mistake!"—says one.

"Something ought to be done," says another.

"Yes," says a third; "if it was't for being mixed up with such a crowd and rabble of folks, I'd go out."

"Upon my word," says another, "there are women in the ranks, carrying pails of water!—There, one woman is going up a ladder to get those children out. What an indecorum! If they'd manage this matter properly, we would join them."

And now come lumbering over from Charlestown the engines and fire-companies.

"What impudence of Charlestown," say these men, "to be sending over here,—just as if we could not put our own fires out! They have fires over there, as much as we do."

And now the flames roar and burn, and shake hands across the streets. They leap over the steeples, and glare demoniacally out of the church-windows.

"For Heaven's sake, DO SOMETHING!" is the cry. "Pull down the house! Blow up those blocks of stores with gunpowder! Anything to stop it."

"See, now, what ultra, radical measures they are going at," says one of these spectators.

Brave men, who have rushed into the thick-set of the fire, come out, and fall dead in the street.

"They are impracticable enthusiasts. They

have thrown their lives away in fool-hardiness," says another.

So, church of Christ, burns that awful fire! Evermore burning, burning, burning, over church and altar; burning over senate-house and forum; burning up liberty, burning up religion! No *Earthly* hands kindled that fire. From its sheeted flame and wreaths of sulphurous smoke glares out upon thee the eye of that ENEMY who was a murderer from the beginning. It is a fire that BURNS TO THE LOWEST HELL!

Church of Christ, there *was* an hour when this fire might have been extinguished by thee. Now, thou standest like a mighty man astonished—like a mighty man that cannot save. But the Hope of Israel is not dead. The Saviour thereof in time of trouble is yet alive.

If every church in our land were hung with mourning,—if every Christian should put on sack-cloth,—if "the priest should weep between the porch and the altar," and say, "Spare thy people, O Lord, and give not thy heritage to reproach!"—that were not too great a mourning for such time as this.

For the Non-Slaveholder.

SLAVE PRODUCE AND STOLEN GOODS.

I am at a loss to conceive how a person "who is perfectly sound in the faith,"* can see so much difference between the "fruits of Slavery and those of privacy and theft."

Let us compare them. Suppose a trader should offer for sale two barrels of sugar: one of these, we will suppose to be the product of a sugar plantation in the South—the planter in from 6 to 10 years wears out one set of hands, and resorts to the coast of Africa or Virginia for a fresh supply. It would make little difference in the turpitude of the crime, whether such supply is the result of kidnapping in Africa or America, as we all agree that there can be no rightful property in man. Each laborer, (whatever his descent,) by the higher law of *Justice* is and will ever remain to be rightful owner of himself. The planter cannot possibly have any just right to him as property, whether he *legally* purchased him with money, or kidnapped him. It is only by the superior power of the planter and of his supporters, that he is enabled to force the laborers to plant the cane, and to make the sugar; and by so doing he robs them of themselves, and working them to death in from six to ten years he thus obtains the *one* barrel of sugar which he offers for sale.

The *other* barrel we will suppose to be made by paid labor in the West Indies, but to have

*See note, page 36.

been stolen amongst others from a wholesale warehouse in the city. If the distinction in crime represented by the different barrels of sugar can be so easily discerned, which would a consistent Christian regard as being obtained through the greatest crime? The *former* was obtained by robbing a man of himself and all he makes, and working him to death without regard to family ties or the demands of religion; the latter, by stealing perhaps from a wealthy merchant and leaving him abundance. The purchase of the *one* would encourage and support an extensive system of robbery and crime, while the purchaser of the other encourage an occasional nocturnal thief. Yet the former is advocated and practiced by *professing Christians*!! while the latter is condemned by all!!

It may be claimed that, in the former case, that the capital or land on which the sugar was made, properly belonged to the planter, and that hence he might have a probable right to part of the sugar. But let us enquire how the planter obtained this land. Was it not by the profits of his present or preceding laborers who were robbed of themselves and their earning? If so, when he shall have made reparation to humanity for all the wrong he has practiced, he will probably find that he has no just right to this land, but that it too is only the fruit of that vile system of iniquity which is directly supported by the purchase of its productions.

The above remarks are made without any unkind feeling, but merely with a desire to elicit the truth, if the views are incorrect, let them be corrected. Let truth prevail. H.

On receiving the above article from a respected Correspondent, we communicated it to the writer of the passage criticised therein and in the article on "Stolen Goods" on page 36 of this volume. The friend referred to is one at whose feet the wisest might sit for instruction in the Anti-Slavery faith, and who, from the age of 17, through 60 years of

"Faith, by daily striving
And performance shewn,"

has steadily kept in view the free produce idea. He promptly replied in the following observations, which may suitably close the discussion, respecting a passage which we understood as a simple laying down of tenable propositions.

[Ed.]

"Little did I imagine when I wrote the passage in question, that it would elicit the notice, or awaken the criticisms it has. But in reviewing it, I see nothing to retract. That in the scale of oppression there are various grades, will probably not be denied. The man who labors to preserve a conscience void of offence toward God, and toward man, will be less concerned to estimate the relative turpitude of

crimes, than to steer clear of them all. Still a judicious advocate of justice and truth, will be careful not to confound cases which are easily distinguished. The pirate who plunders all who fall in his way, and murders those whom he plunders, on the presumption that dead men tell no tales, is universally regarded as an enemy of the human race. The thief, who pilfers the property without otherwise injuring the person of the sufferer, will hardly be placed on the same platform with the pirate. And perhaps if we were required to estimate the relative turpitude of crimes, we might find that all thieves ought not to be placed on the same platform.

With regard to Slavery, I hardly need, at this time of day, inform my friends, that I have long regarded it as founded altogether in violence and wrong; and believed it to be the duty of christians who understand its character, to get clear of it with the least possible delay. But if we undertake to advocate the cause of the oppressed by denouncing slaveholding in all its grades, as on a level with piracy and theft, we expose ourselves, in the view of those who behold it only in its milder forms, to just criticism. The seizure of victims on the African coast, their incarceration in the floating charnel houses on the middle passage, the systematic working of slaves to death in five or seven years, are hardly less criminal, perhaps they are actually more criminal, than the usual actions of pirates. And if this species of lingering murder should be deemed more cruel than the sudden massacre by the dagger or by drowning, to which pirates usually resort, the actors ought not to be located on the same platform.

If stealing a man, or compelling him to labor, without compensation, for the emolument of another, is more unjust and oppressive than stealing his property without encroaching on his personal freedom, then the actors ought not to be set on the same platform.

But an objection to the confounding of Slavery in general with those highest grades of crime, is this. It is well known that among the possessors of slaves there are many who have fallen into the possession by inheritance, without any agency of their own; who are really conscientiously desirous to promote the comfort of the servile class, and who would make considerable sacrifices of interest, to render justice to their slaves; and yet at the same time find themselves encompassed with difficulties, from the laws of the land, the habits of their education, and the ignorance of these objects of their solicitude, which appear nearly insuperable. Now, when persons of this description find themselves denounced as equals

with pirates, they feel the injustice of the imputation, and reject even those parts of the arguments of their accusers, which are just and unanswerable."

THE METHODIST E. CONFERENCE,

Of New England, which recently closed its session at Ipswich, in this State, passed the following resolutions:

1. That as a Conference, we are as fully and deeply convinced as ever that all voluntary slaveholding, or the holding of slaves in bondage for the sake of gain, under any circumstances, is a flagrant sin against God and humanity.

2. That it is our deliberate and settled opinion, that no more persons guilty of the sin of slaveholding, should be admitted as members into our church.

3. That we are fully persuaded that if a proper discipline were duly administered, or if the spirit even of our present discipline were fully carried out, all voluntary slaveholders would soon be brought to repentance and reformation of life, or for the sin of slaveholding be expelled from the church.

4. That as there is a difference of opinion as to whether our discipline, as it now reads, would exclude such persons from our communion, it is the sense of this conference, that the discipline should be so altered and amended as to include a well-defined and clearly expressed rule, prohibiting their reception into the communion of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

For the Non Slaveholder.

"Are Friends careful to bear a testimony against Slavery?"

This plain and important query is answered annually in all the meetings, for discipline in Ohio Yearly meeting of Friends, and we suppose a similar one is answered in other Yearly meetings.

Let us enquire in what manner we bear this testimony: Whilst many of us go to the ballot-box and cast our votes for Slaveholders or proslavery persons to rule the nation, do we bear a testimony against Slavery? did not many of us vote for Congressmen who supported the fugitive Slave law, and for proslavery presidents and vice-presidents? In so doing, were we bearing a testimony against Slavery?

What is Slavery, and for what are the Slaves held in bondage? Slavery may be considered a cotton and sugar raising business, carried on to supply the people with cotton and sugar; and the Slave-trade is perpetuated to supply the planters with labourers to raise these commodities.

Suppose a vessel has returned from Africa with a cargo of Slaves, and they are purchased by planters in Carolina, who tell the kidnappers they will be glad to have another supply next Spring. Who will be held responsible for the kidnapping? The Slave-stealer, or the Slave-purchaser? Are they not both guilty? And is not the money which the planter will give for the Slaves the motive for kidnapping, and does not that place a very heavy portion of the crime with the purchaser of the Slaves? Again, suppose that the planter, by hard driving, produces cotton or sugar, brings them hither—offers them to us *and we purchase them*, telling him we would like to have a large supply next Spring; *does not the offer of our money induce him to purchase more Slaves*, and drive them hard to raise cotton and sugar for us, and are we not, therefore, very deeply implicated in the sin of Slavery, and through that in the African Slave trade? Are we, then, *careful to bear a testimony against Slavery?* Will we not rather, in the day of awful judgment, be called upon to answer for our participation in the crimes of Slavery and the Slave trade? Will not plundered Africa rise in judgment against us, will not the cries and groans of those thousands who have died in the holds of Slave ships, of those who are plunged alive into the sea, or whipped to death on the plantations, of women robbed of their virtue, and of thousands annually murdered and abused in various ways, rise also in the judgment against us?

But let us, for the sake of such, who, from prejudice and force of habit, do not appreciate these arguments, bring the subject nearer home. Suppose that *here*, in our midst there were two townships of land given to Slavery, one to raise cotton the other sugar. Suppose that all the women-whipping, baby-stealing, the family-rending, the man-murdering, and all other crimes usually connected with Slavery, were *here* perpetrated, *under our own eyes*, and all this for the purpose of supplying our wardrobes with cotton, and our tables with sugar? Suppose that in our own persons, and with our own money, we went and purchased our supplies, and told the planters the quantity we would probably want another season. Would we, in no wise, be connected with the crime? Would we be *careful to bear a testimony against Slavery?* How long would it take *such* testimony to induce them to set their Slaves free? Do we not all see that *we are the persons for whom the Slaves are toiling?* And is it not equally so, whether the labour be performed here or in Carolina and Louisiana? Will our distance from the Slaves exonerate from the crime of participation in Sla-

very? Evidently it will not. Let us, then, candidly acknowledge our connection with the system, and hastily withdraw therefrom.

H——.

THE NON-SLAVEHOLDER.

PHILADELPHIA, SEVENTH MONTH, 6, 1853.

AN APPEAL FOR THE BONDWOMAN.—We design giving to our subscribers, in the course of the present volume of the Non-Slaveholder, the whole of this chaste and beautiful Poem: and, in doing so, we consider that we make them a valuable offering and furnish them a sufficient inducement for preserving this Journal in a permanent form. The Poem was written some years ago for the Liberty Fair in this city, and a number of copies, presented in manuscript, sold rapidly at \$2.00 each. To extend the benefit and to supply the demand, it was published in an elegant volume of 36 pages. It is addressed, in so many sections, to seven distinct classes of the more favored daughters of Eve. The first and longest section, to *Mothers*, which is given entire at this time, is full of tender pathos.

A political Journal, not chargeable with abolitionism, in a laudatory announcement of the volume, says: "It is speaking within modest limits to say that the volume before us is in every view thoroughly respectable; quite free from the *fanaticism* of Philanthropy, commending itself on the mere score of literary excellence, whilst it may well be styled a genial heart-gush from a fountain of pure and warm benevolence. We have seen effusions from the same pen before, and take to ourselves no credit for extraordinary sagacity, in having prognosticated that such merit, even though joined to shrinking delicacy, could not always be successful in keeping to the shaded walks of individual privacy. There is many a beauteous flowret which seeks to hide its brilliancy beneath foliage of a larger growth, but the fragrance which is its perpetual breathing, floats upon the gale, and is a tell-tale of the loveliness that desires concealment."

H. B. Stowe's "KEY TO UNCLE TOM'S CABIN," a collection of most important "facts and documents," is well worthy of the vast circulation which it is obtaining. The Freeman calls it "a magazine of Anti-Slavery truth:"—a speaker at the Boston "Hale dinner" called it, "the KEY that shall yet unlock the prison houses, and let the captive go free." We would gladly find room for copious extracts;—but surely the book itself will be perused by most of our readers. The force of its application

cannot be turned aside by any charge of *fiction*; and he who would controvert the book will find himself in the unenviable occupation of "*biting a file*."

PRESBYTERIAN (N. S.) GENERAL ASSEMBLY.—This body, in 1850, pronounced slaveholding, (with certain exceptions) a disciplinable offence. At its recent session a select committee on this subject reported resolutions re-affirming said action, and calling for a committee of one from each of the Synods of Virginia, Kentucky, Missouri and Tennessee, to investigate the number of slaveholding members and of slaves held by them; how far they are held by unavoidable necessity of law, by obligations of guardianship and humanity, &c; the extent of certain abuses, and sundry statistics; winding up with an exhortatory resolution. Several unusual subjects had been previously disposed of. The *Tribune* says: "The Assembly decided, with little or no dissent, that dancing by christians is wrong and sinful; that a man may *not* marry his neice; and that church members must *not* travel on Sunday except to and from Church, or on some errand of necessity. Each of these decisions doubtless, pinched some people's corns, but they hardly squirmed,—at least they never threatened secession. But the moment slavery was touched, a fearful 'agitation' was evinced, seriously threatening the integrity of 'the Union.'" Considerable discussion ensued, and a member offered as a substitute, a preamble and 13 resolutions, of a retaliatory air, some of which, referring to Bloomer costume, hen-pecked husbands, &c., indicate a low sense of the reverence due to the Head of the Church in all attempts to transact the affairs of the Church. Yet some of them are strongly *suggestive* of considerations worthy the attention of Northern professors. We give a portion of them.

"That, with an express disavowal not to be inquisitorial, &c. a committee of one from each of the northern Synods of ———, be appointed, who shall be requested to report to the next General Assembly:

1. The number of northern church members who traffic with slaveholders, and are seeking to make money by selling them negro clothing, hand-cuffs and cowhides.

2. How many northern church members are concerned, directly or indirectly, in building and fitting out ships for the African slave trade, and the slave trade between the states.

3. How many northern church members have sent orders to New Orleans and other southern cities, to have slaves sold to pay debts coming to them from the South. [See Uncle Tom's Cabin.]

4. How many northern church members buy the cotton, sugar, rice, tobacco, oranges, pine-apples, figs, ginger, cocoa, melons, and a thousand other things, raised by slave labor.

5. How many northern church members have intermarried with slaveholders, and have thus become slave owners themselves, or enjoy the wealth made by the blood of the slave—especially if there be any northern ministers of the Gospel in such a predicament.

7. What is the aggregate and individual wealth of church members thus descended, and what action is best to compel them to disgorge this blood-stained wealth, or to make them give dollar for dollar, in equalizing the loss of the South by emancipation."

The subsequent discussions and *successive dispositions of the subject*, are foreign to our present purpose. An esteemed correspondent, whose letter was received after the above was in type, writes as follows, respecting the resolutions just recited:—

"ECCLESIASTICAL AGITATIONS.—The subject of Slavery is of so intrusive a nature, that it not only insinuates itself into halls of political action, but also into the very Sanctuary, if I may be allowed by this term, without disrespect to it or to them, to express the various religious societies in this community, who stand in any degree affiliated with slaveholding. In some of these societies door-keepers have almost been literally appointed to keep out the agitating subject from disturbing their 'happy Union;' yet is *Principle* so ethereal that neither walls, nor vigilance can exclude it. *There it stands in their midst*, though their doors be closed for fear of the Jews, pointing to the hand-writing on their consciences, 'I will overturn, overturn, overturn, and it shall be no more, until he comes, whose right it is, and I will give it Him.' It often happens that the very men who most deprecate agitation are among the veriest disturbers of the quiet, and when not aggressively so, are yet utterers of wholesome truths, under the teachings of some of which Slavery ought to receive, and I hope may yet receive its death blow. These truths usually relate to the practical insincerity of those, unhappily by far the greatest part of the Anti-Slavery religious community, who profess to hold in abhorrence the chattelizing of human beings, and yet are unwilling to relinquish any of its unhallowed conveniences to themselves."

F. Douglass publishes a call for a National Convention of free colored persons, to be held in Rochester, N. Y. on the 6th inst. All societies, religious, literary, &c., of coloured persons, are entitled to be represented each by three delegates. One of the objects is stated to be, the establishment of a permanent NATIONAL COUNCIL. "In a word," says the call, "the whole field of our interests will be opened to enquiry, investigation and determination."—Delegates are desired to prepare themselves

with statistics respecting the condition of their people in the neighborhoods which they represent.

THE SURE, SAD FRUITS.

A prophet, who may have been regarded by his cotemporaries as a fanatic and as an abolitionist, about 700 or 800 years before the advent of Him who left his glory in the Heavens to undo the heavy burden, to let the oppressed go free, to break every yoke, and to bear in his own body the chastisement of all our sins, declared of those who had "*sown the wind*," that they shall "*REAP THE WHIRLWIND*." Just as our paper is going to press, a sad rumour reaches us of an attempted insurrection of the Slaves at New Orleans. We may hope that, through the sparing mercy of the long suffering Father of all, this desperate movement may be suppressed. But have we any reason to hope that the *white men* will show mercy to those whom their oppression maketh mad? Alas! Alas! We blame the negroes who have failed to keep the everlasting patience, and to wait upon Him, who has said, "Vengeance is mine—I will repay." We blame them,—just as we would blame revolutionists in Poland or Hungary or elsewhere, for deeds of bloodshed. And we pity our Southern brethren and sisters, for the difficulties of their position, for their guilt in this matter of Slaveholding, and for the baits, the temptations, the bounty money constantly extended to them by us of the North. We "give the motive" which induces them to "sow the wind," notwithstanding the certainty that, (as Adam Clarke finely expresses himself) "*the ventral seed shall be multiplied into a tempest*;" so they who sow the seed of unrighteousness, shall reap a harvest of judgment."

But some will be ready to charge this lamentable outbreak upon the Abolitionists.—People of the South, fool not yourselves with so delusive an idea. Rather bless the Abolitionists for their human sympathies and their prayers for you and for your bondmen, and know assuredly, that the poor Slave's desperate hand is often checked by the consoling thought that many thousands sympathize with him: and he cherishes the hope that this sympathy may become contagious, and at last infect his oppressors. Were he bereft of all hope, were the Abolitionists to take you at your word and become indifferent,—then utter desperation would light the torch, and nerve the arm, and guide the sword. "*We are not incendiaries* :—yet we would call,—not upon the Slaves but upon *you* for a signal uprising.

"Up, now for FREEDOM! not in strife
Like that your sterner fathers saw:
The awful waste of human life,—

The glory and the guilt of war:
But break the chain,—the yoke remove,
And smite to earth Oppression's rod,
With those mild arms of TRUTH and LOVE,
Made mighty by the living God!"

And ye, the Friends of Freedom and of the Slave, clear your own selves. Wear not the livery of the beast Slavery! Tamper not with his meat offerings and drink offerings! Be separate! Be in very verity, NON-SLAVEHOLDERS.

MARY JANE EDMUNDSON.—We learn from the *Oberlin Evangelist* that this lovely and interesting person died on the 18th of 5th mo. at Oberlin College, where she was receiving her education at the cost of H. B. Stowe, whose history of the Edmundson family in her *Key to Uncle Tom's Cabin*, (part 3, chap. 6) we recommend to the attentive perusal of every one. Mary Jane died in christian faith and hope, having, it is reverently trusted, experienced the sufficiency of a Saviour's atoning blood, to wash away all spirit stains,—and in

"Yielding unto God her spirit,
And her "dust to dust,"

there was no cause to apprehend that the African tinge in her earth-vesture would bar her admission among the ransomed multitude, gathered from "every kindred, tongue and people," before the "great white throne," and beside the pure river of water of life,

"Where, a white stone in her forehead,
And a new song on her lip,
Her cup in the sea of crystal
Evermore may dip."

A valued friend in the *West* says—

"We are much pleased with the paper. We think it well conducted; but I regretted one word in that very excellent article in relation to the attempt to kidnap Neal and carry him off in the cars. That article was very well written;—was well worth the price of the paper for one year;—but I think that "small blot" in the Governor's character should have been "large." And I think, at the conclusion of the article, while the feelings of the readers were highly wrought, thou shouldst have told them that this and other cases of kidnapping were done to raise cotton and sugar for them; and that thus the consumers are directly the cause of all these outrages."

These observations are just. If our friend will refer to page 22, he will see that we merely *lay down a proposition*. "A small blot, however dark, is not so much noticed upon a greater one of the same hue." This proposition was laid down in connection with the remark that the infamous pro-slavery message of Governor Bigler "has left a blot upon his name, which must be washed out before *this one* will be very conspicuous." Blots, as well as other things, are large or small by comparison. Gulliver was looked up to through a telescope in Lilliputia, but he became microscopic when he landed in Brobdingnag. The official under consideration, *blots and all*, does not appear to us to be a very great character.

Whittier would probably assign "a half-peck measure" as affording ample room for "half a dozen such to dance in." We would commend to William Bigler some verses of Churchill—
"Thy greatest praise had been to live unknown.
Yet let not vanity like thine despair—
Fortune makes Folly her peculiar care."

THE HIGHWAY OF THE UPRIGHT.

Proverbs xvi. 17.

I pant, I pant for the heavenward path,

Which never the vulture's eye hath seen,
Where the forest king in his cruel wrath
Hath never been.

It leadeth away from the snares of vice,
From the haunts of corroding Avarice;—
From vanity's shows which the soul entice,—
From Malice, and Falsehood, and Lust, and all
That subdueth the Spirit to Sin's dark thrall,
It leads to the city whose streets of gold
Even the militant Saints behold,

In the midst whereof, with healing rife
For the deadly wound of Zion's daughter,
Stands in its beauty the tree of life,

Mirrored within the balsamic water
Proceeding from under the throne of God,
The true and the only baptismal flood,
Whose streams, that in chrystalline clearness roll,
With healing are fraught for the sin sick soul.

Oh, I long in that city of light to dwell,
Where never a transient sunbeam fell,
Nor glimmering ray from moon or star;—
Unspeakably brighter, more glorious far
That holy city's undazzling ray!

For He is its glory who lighted the Sun!
And they who the heavenward race would run
Must enter by HIM the WAY.

There is a path *upon Earth* which no bird knoweth,
Where the holy zephyr of Eden bloweth,
And the tree of healing and water of life
Refresh the spirit redeemed from strife.
The Pilgrims who throng that unseen way
Are guided by no deceptive ray:

They have made the Unerring Guide their choice,
And they cannot follow the Stranger's voice.
To be joined to Christ, and in him to live,

They would share his baptism, drink his cup,
Renouncing the pleasures which sin can give,
To walk in the way by Him cast up.

And joined unto Him, as they walk by faith,
They see, at the end of their pilgrim path,
The realm of inconceivable bliss,
Where the weary have rest from the toils of this.
And they hear at times, in prophetic tone,
The welcome greeting, "Well done—well done!"
And they catch some notes from the rapturous song
Which is learned by none but the ransomed throng.
And thus attuned, while they walk through Time,
To the harmony caught from that heavenly chime,
They make in their hearts, unto Him they love,
Melody, heard with approval above.

W. J. A.

Printed at the Gazette Office, Burlington, N. J.

THE NON-SLAVEHOLDER.

"Whoso gives the motive, makes his brother's sin his own."

VOL. I.—NEW SERIES.]

PHILADELPHIA, EIGHTH MONTH, 1853.

[No. 8.]

WILLIAM J. ALLINSON, EDITOR.

PUBLISHED MONTHLY

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save the loss on bank notes which are here under par.

WORSE THAN LEGREE.—By the Ledger of to-day we learn that in Carrollton, La., a few days ago, a negro, aged nearly 90 years, "universally venerated for soberness, honesty, great age, and revolutionary reminiscences," was, for a petty offence, "whipped, stumped and kicked to death," by his master, Chas. Hines. At the Coroner's inquest, "the sight was sickening. His back cut and bruised into a jelly," (says the Carrollton Star,) "and the lower part of his body nearly kicked to pieces." Hines is in jail.

AN APPEAL FOR THE BONDWOMAN,

TO HER OWN SEX.

BY ELIZABETH LLOYD, JR.

PART II.

DAUGHTER! happy cherished one,
Ever since thy life begun,
Hedged about by watchful care
From the peril and the snare
Hath our fallen race beguiled,—
Hoary age and little child—
Tenderly and safely led

Where the stillest waters flow,
Ever bountifully fed

Where the greenest pastures grow,
When thy heart with love shall swell,
As the heart of woman will,

In its quiet gladness,
Unto him who came as well
Thy life's cup with joy to fill,
As with grief and sadness,—
Let it bring the captive near!
In her agonizing fear—
In her peril and distress—
In her helpless sinfulness.

For a father's tender care,
For a mother's every prayer,
For a brother's strength of arm
Ever between thee and harm,
For the precious gift to thee

Of a sister's sympathy,—
Daughter, for so blest a lot,
Be the Captive unforget!

Succored in thy every need,
When thy full heart doth rejoice
In its many blessings, heed,
Oh, then heed Compassion's voice.
Wait not till thy youth be sped,
Till thy bloom of life be past,
Till thy summer hopes are dead,
Scattered by the autumn blast;

Wait not till thy loves depart,
Until thou hast nought to bring
But a disappointed heart,
Late and thankless offering!

But while all thy Heaven is bright,
Grateful to the Holiest, yield
Fruit which is the sower's right
From the vineyard and the field.

Even as the forest trees,
In their early putting forth,
Grateful to the sun and breeze
For each tender leaf-child's birth,
Ever its first fragrance give
To the air by which they live.

From the Bond of Brotherhood.

TWENTY REASONS

For Total Abstinence from Slave Labour
Produce.—By ELIHU BURRITT.

1. Because all the products of the labour of the slave are the fruits of an aggravated robbery perpetrated upon him daily, and are therefore stained with all the crime and guilt that can attach to stolen goods.

2. The voluntary consumption of the produce of the slave's labour is a participation in the sin of the system that holds him in bondage.

3. It is one of the first and most important duties enjoined upon the Christian to make his practice square with his profession. Whilst, therefore, he sanctions and supports by his daily practice a system which he condemns as exceedingly sinful by his professions, his own conscience, as well as the world, testifies to his inconsistency, and his advocacy of the right is weakened if not wholly silenced by the discrepancy.

4. The slaveholders themselves declare that

total abstinence from slave-labour produce would as surely abolish slavery as the day follows night; and they taunt the abolitionists with insincerity in not adopting a course which would put an end to the evil they so loudly condemn.

5. Abstinence from slave-labour produce, so far from being a substitute for any other anti-slavery efforts, would increase their number and variety, and give them all a point and a power which they now lack. It would create the occasion for more numerous anti-slavery meetings, and give a force and emphasis to resolutions, addresses, and remonstrances against slavery, which the slave-holder could not resist.

6. It is a mode of anti-slavery action in which every man, woman, and child may take a part every day, at every meal, in every article of dress they wear and enjoy. And this silent, daily testimony would tend to keep their anti-slavery sentiments active, out-spoken, and ever working in their spheres of influence.

7. It is a measure that does not trench upon any principle of free trade. It asks the interference of no legislation against the introduction or use of slave-labour produce. It requires no petitions to parliaments, diets, national assemblies, cortes, or congresses. It involves nothing but the free, voluntary legislation of the individual conscience upon articles of household or personal consumption. It is no more opposed to the fullest development of free trade than is the exercise of individual taste or fancy in supplying the table or wardrobe.

8. It is a measure which should commend itself especially to the abolitionists of the United Kingdom; because probably full three-fourths of all the human sinews bought and sold on the earth are worked under the lash to supply the British market; while there are free soil and free labour enough within the British dominions to produce all the cotton, sugar, coffee, and rice the whole world would consume. The whole value of the exports of the domestic produce of the U. States to foreign countries, during the year 1849, amounted to £26,500,000. Of this amount, the value of the exports to Great Britain and its dependencies was £17,700,000. The exports from the Slave States amounted to £16,000,000; of which cotton supplied £13,280,000; tobacco, £1,160,000; and rice, £514,000.—Great Britain and its dependencies took £9,560,000 worth, or nearly *three-fourths* of this cotton, and probably a larger proportion of the rice and tobacco.

9. A large number of slaves in Tennessee, Kentucky, Virginia, and Missouri, are employed in producing corn, pork, bacon, &c., for the

slaves on the cotton, sugar, and rice plantations of the more southern slave States. It is probably, therefore, this side of the truth to say, that full three-fourths of all the slaves in the United States are employed, directly or indirectly, in supplying the British market alone. The money-value of every slave in America is determined by the price in England. The hammer of the Liverpool cotton-broker, and that which knocks off *Uncle Tom* at the slave-auction in New Orleans, descend by the same law of commercial gravitation. A penny a pound advance on cotton in Liverpool adds £40 to *Uncle Tom's* market value on the auction-block; and *vice versa*. At this moment, the cotton trade in Lancashire is very brisk and prosperous. A great many new mills are being erected, and, in consequence, the value of slaves in the United States has risen from £150 to £200.

10. The free States, and those slave States in which cotton, rice, and sugar cannot be grown, not only supply the American market with all the corn, potatoes, pork, bacon, and other provisions which it demands, but also export a vast quantity of these articles to foreign countries. Even if the climate and soil of the cotton-growing States were suited to the production of these articles, there would be no market for them at home or abroad. They must continue to grow cotton, rice, and sugar, whether by slave or free labour, or their plantations must remain untilld. This is the only alternative possible.

11. If the British market were closed against American cotton, rice, sugar, and tobacco for three years, three-fourths of the land occupied with their production would be reduced virtually to a wilderness; *three-fourths* of all the slaves in the United States would be without employment—a burden upon the planters which would bankrupt them, unless set at liberty.

12. If there were a movement set on foot in Great Britain which would, in the view of the slaveholders, close the British market against their productions at the end of ten years, if they persisted in adhering to their system up to that time, they would doubtless emancipate their slaves immediately, and adopt the system of free labour. For they would not risk the loss of the British market for any consideration which the existence of slavery could supply. The same would be true of the slaveholders of Brazil and Cuba.

13. A movement of this kind must have a strong moral as well as commercial principle for its motive-power. For if it were organised on mere commercial grounds, the slaveholders would be emboldened to run the hazard of a

competition with the cotton, sugar, and coffee growers of the British dominions. But if the enlightened conscience of a Christian community could be associated with commerce in this enterprise—if the movement could be backed, ensouled, and propelled by deep moral convictions, the slaveholders would be obliged to give over the struggle as hopeless.

14. A great movement, based upon the commercial motive, is now being organized to supply the British market with cotton, &c., grown in India and other British possessions. The wealthy and influential manufacturers of Lancashire have set their hands to this enterprise with energetic determination. The Government appreciates its importance, and is willing to promote its success. Roads, railways, improvement of river navigation, are to be the order of the day in India, with the view of extending the cultivation and facilitating the transportation of cotton grown by free labour. It is not that the manufacturers of Lancashire are influenced by any moral objection to slave labour, as such, but that they fear it will not be able to supply, without interruption, their mills with the quantity they demand. Besides, they deem it hazardous to depend upon one country for this important article, which would be cut off in case of a war between the two nations. Total abstinence from slave-labour produce, because it is stained with the crime of theft and oppression, would give to this commercial movement a new element, aspect, and power, and make it irresistible to the overthrow of slavery throughout the world.

15. A movement thus embodying both the moral and commercial principle would not only stimulate the production of cotton, sugar, rice, &c., by free labour in the British dominions, but also in the United States, Brazil and Cuba. And it is of the utmost importance that the free-labour system of production should be brought immediately under the eyes of the slaveholder, upon the same soil as his own plantation, that the example may tell upon him with undiminished effect.

16. There never was a more favorable juncture for extending the cultivation of cotton by free labour in the American slave States, than at the present moment. For more than thirty years a considerable amount has been grown by small farmers, scattered among the large plantations. These men till from 50 to 100 acres of land with their own hands, chiefly because they are too poor to own a slave. They produce annually four or five bales, which they sell, of course, at the current price; thus competing with the wealthy planter with all his slaves, capital, and machinery. The Free-Labour-Produce Association of Philadelphia

has sent forth agents to find out these small farmers, and to purchase their cotton. It is impossible to conjecture how many of them are scattered through the States, but probably there are many thousands. A discussion has already commenced, in some of the southern reviews, in reference to the comparative economy of free and slave labour. The slaves, it is stated, "are running away by battalions," from the more northern slave States. Many planters have recently emancipated their slaves, and are cultivating their lands by free labour. Cassius M. Clay, one of the most influential of their number, has published his success to the world. He says that he finds no difficulty in hiring white labour according to his need, and at reasonable rates. He hires, also, a portion of his former slaves for wages, mutually satisfactory; and whereas his farm used to run him in debt, or at least yield him no profit, he is now making money by it. Every such experiment of free labour in the slave States is exerting a powerful influence in favour of the system. A planter recently went all the way from Georgia to New York to engage men to work on his plantation; "because," as he said, "white labor can be employed more economically than that of hired slaves."

17. A demand for free-labour productions, created and steadily increased by the pressure of Christian convictions as well as commercial motives, would draw them into the British market, in ever-widening streams, from all the countries in which they are grown. And in no country would it probably take a more immediate and decided effect upon slavery than in the United States.

18. During the great struggle against the slave-trade, Clarkson estimated that 300,000 persons in Great Britain abstained from sugar *entirely*, rather than support the inhuman traffic by its use. The friends of the slave are not now called upon to test their sincerity by such a privation. More than one half of the sugars in the British market are free-grown, and may be procured, with a little care, in every considerable town in the kingdom. An earnest demand for them will ensure a supply. A large wholesale depot has just been established in London, for supplying provincial grocers with free-labour sugars of all kinds, rice, coffee, &c. of as good quality and on as cheap terms as the slave-grown articles in the market. Not an article stained with the guilt of slavery will find an access to this establishment, and it will furnish a satisfactory guarantee to the purity of all it supplies to the grocers in the provinces.*

*This is equally true as applied to the Philadelphia Free Produce Store.—Ed.

19. There is already a sufficient supply of free-labour cotton, to meet the demand of those who are thoroughly convinced that the voluntary consumption of the products of the slave, is a participation in the crime of the system that holds him in bondage. This supply will constantly increase with the demand. A house in Manchester, worthy of unwavering confidence, has undertaken to collect the free-labour cotton as it comes in from different countries, and to supply the public with all the various goods into which it can be manufactured. Small depots of these goods are being established in different towns, and in quality and price they compare favourably with articles of the same kind made of slave-grown cotton. A depot has just been opened in London, chiefly for promoting the establishment of similar ones in all the provincial towns, by enabling them to obtain easily an adequate supply. The movement has commenced under favourable auspices, with encouraging prospects in every direction. The commercial interests and the Christian conviction of the community are fast uniting to give this movement irresistible power. God and humanity "expect that every man will do his duty" to the slave, at this important moment, when that duty is so clearly revealed by the manifestations of the Divine mind and will.

20. The present moment is a most auspicious juncture for organising that deep, earnest, wide-spread sympathy which has been excited in behalf of the slave, by the powerful delineations of his condition of "*Uncle Tom's Cabin*." This book seems to bear the impress of a Divine mission. It has been translated into nearly all the languages of Europe, and it has been read by millions and millions throughout Christendom. The distinguished writer has commended abstinence from slave-labour produce in the first circles of English society, as a measure which would be most effective for the speedy overthrow of the inhuman system which she has depicted with such irresistible truthfulness and power. Persons in all ranks of life are beginning to consider this Anti-Slavery movement with serious attention, and there is every reason to believe that it will soon obtain their convictions and co-operation.

SLAVE PRODUCE.

BY E. M. CHANDLER.

Eat! they are eates for a lady's lip,
Rich as the sweets that the wild bees sip;
Mingled viands that nature hath pour'd,
From the plenteous stores of her flowing board,
Bearing no trace of man's cruelty—save
The red life-drops of his human slave.

List thee, lady! and turn aside,
With a loathing heart, from the feasts of pride;
For, mix'd with the pleasant sweets it bears,
Is the hidden curse of scalding tears,
Wrung out from woman's bloodshot eye,
By the depth of her deadly agony.

Look! they are robes from a foreign loom,
Delicate, light, as the rose leaf's bloom;
Stainless and pure in their snowy tint,
As the drift unmarked by a footstep's print.
Surely such garment should fitting be,
For woman's softness and purity.

Yet fling them off from thy shrinking limb,
For sighs have render'd their brightness dim;
And many a mother's shriek and groan,
And many a daughter's burning moan,
And many a sob of wild despair,
From woman's heart, is lingering there.

Strictures on the Memorial of S. Rhoads, E. Lewis and others, with a reply.

For the Non-Slaveholder.

Our attention was recently called to a document in the Non-Slaveholder, which the Editor, in its caption, styles a "Magnanimous Memorial."—[p. 27.]

Permit us to say that on its examination we were much struck with its character, and can but believe that those who signed it, for whom we entertain a high regard as men of refined moral sentiments, and profound judgment, did not sufficiently weigh the matter before them.

We have no hesitation in acknowledging that the citizens of the free States have participated in the profits of Slave labor, if its products are, or have been thrown into market at a lower rate than the products of free labor; but if such has been the case, who is the sufferer? Is it the slave holder, or the bondman? Surely not the former, for he has no right to those products, unless he has a right to the person of the slave, which, of course, our friends will not admit.

The memorialists claim, that by participating in the profits of slave labor, the citizens of the free states have "become partners in the great business of slavery." Now, taking this to be true, what is our duty, and the duty of slaveholders; bearing in mind at the same time the axiom, that no man has a right to the labor of his fellow man? Surely not, that because we have been engaged in an unholy alliance with the oppressor in robbing our brother, the slave, we should pay over to him the estimated value of his slaves labor during life, but rather cut loose from such alliance—cease to be "partners in this great business." What! should the slaveholder, who has been living so long on that of which he robbed his fellow man, be

rewarded for ceasing this robbery, and thus receive the practical commiseration of the non-slaveholders for so doing, while the poor slave, the victim of their joint oppression, who has been plundered his life long, till perhaps he is old, is not thought of! Are we to have no pity for him, whom we have injured most grievously by our criminal alliance with his master, but call on Congress to grant a bonus to his oppressor, who has long profitted by our commercial intercourse with him, as a reward for turning his victims loose in a cold and heartless community, destitute of any thing to subsist upon?

We apprehend, upon *due reflection*, it must be clear to all, entertaining the known views of the petitioners, that if there should be any money distributed amongst any class connected with the system of slavery, that class is the slaves. These, we have injured pecuniarily, by our connection with, and connivance at slave holding, and not the master.

We would suggest, that the memorial should have called on Congress for the passage of a law providing that when any State should liberate its slaves, Commissioners should be appointed by the functionaries referred to, whose duty it should be, to assess the value of each male slave's time, that he had served since he was 21 years old, and that of each female since she was 18; and for that amount to be drawn out of the national treasury, and distributed among the enfranchised as an out-fit in life, and as something of a compensation for the wrongs they have endured. *This*, we would style 'magnanimous,' or an act of simple justice, at least.

WALTER EDGERTON,

6mo. 28, 1853.

WILLIAM BEARD.

[We have cheerfully given place to the above, altho' our extremely small limits will not afford much space for controversial essays without excluding matter which we are anxious to place before our readers. Considering the objections of our esteemed friends to be more benevolent than practical, we thought it proper to let the Memorialists have the opportunity to answer for themselves. We therefore handed the communication to one of them who promptly returned it with the following explanation of the position of himself and his colleagues.—Ed.]

It appears to me that the writer of the article to which my attention has been called, has taken unnecessary pains in his efforts to prove what will not be denied, that the slaves are the greatest sufferers by the system of slavery which has been established in this country, and which is still maintained in half the states of the Union. That the intentions of this writer were pure and philanthropic is not questioned; but when he raises an objection to the plan suggested for the extinction of slavery, he will probably permit me to say that he does not

appear to have "sufficiently weighed the matter before him."

The expedient which he undertakes to criticise is based upon the admission of certain facts which will hardly be denied:

1. The states in which slavery is tolerated or maintained by law, possess the exclusive authority to abolish the system. Of course any effectual mode of relieving those states from the evils of slavery, or discharging the slaves from the custody of their oppressors, must depend upon the voluntary acts of the people or the legislatures of those states.

2. The holders of slaves have a pecuniary interest in the possession; and when we plead for the emancipation of their slaves, however just our plea, we are practically asking the masters to make what they at least consider to be a large pecuniary sacrifice; and what would be, under existing circumstances, to many of them an actual sacrifice of nearly all they possess.

3. The free states, by their commercial relations with the slaveholding states; by the traffic in, and consumption of, the products of slave labor, and by their political connection with the South, have identified themselves, to a great extent, with the system of slavery.

4. From what has yet been done in the U. States towards the extinction of slavery, we may reasonably suppose that if any state, which tolerates slavery, should embrace the plan suggested, and thus become entitled to the proposed compensation, it will be one or more of those bordering on the free states, from which a number of slaves are now annually sold to the states further south.

5. Whatever may justly be due to the slave for the services which they have rendered to their masters, it is obvious that they must be set free by some means before either the general government, or the people of the free states, can possibly contribute anything by way of compensation for those services.

To what, then, does the plan, which this writer thus criticises, amount? Simply to this: That the people of the non-slaveholding states should hold out to such of their slave burthened brethren as may be disposed to engage in the work of emancipation, an inducement so to do, by an offer to share in the pecuniary sacrifice. It suggests an expedient by which a state may place its slaves in the full possession of their freedom without either making such pecuniary sacrifices as a sudden emancipation without remuneration would involve, and which we can hardly expect will be voluntarily made, or passing through the tedious process of gradualism, by which Pennsylvania, the leader in

the work, was transformed from a slave into a free state.*

If Congress could be prevailed upon to adopt the proposal in question, and one or two states should embrace the opportunity of getting clear of slavery, there can be no reasonable doubt that the benefit arising from the change would be so obvious, that the example would be followed, as a measure of policy, and that the compensation, at a very reduced valuation, would be found amply sufficient.

If slavery could be abolished in one or more of the present slave states, the way would open then for adopting an expedient, if any practicable one can be found, for compensating those thus set free, for the service which they have heretofore performed. When Friends in Pennsylvania engaged in the work of emancipating their slaves, the first object was to restore them to freedom; and then followed the plan of remuneration for services performed beyond the legal age.

E. L.

For the Non-Slaveholder.

I have very little doubt that at the great audit, the influences, if excusatory, which underlie any act of wrong, will have their fullest weight in mitigating the judgment which shall be passed upon the actor, by Him who seeth the heart and trieth the reins, and who knoweth what is in man, and how frail a being he is. I have no doubt that many a pirate—many a slaveholder—many an offender, will escape—wonderfully to himself—at that merciful tribunal, whilst it may possibly be, that the “uttermost farthing” shall be required of him who made them a pirate—a slaveholder—an offender. But I do not perceive that, in establishing a code of morality, we are allowed to apologize in advance for any crime on the presumed ignorance of its perpetrator, any more than we are allowed to undervalue any mathematical truth, because of its non-reception by the unintelligent. Rather should we shew the crime and the more fully illustrate it. I have the charity to think there are many human pirates encompassed by many difficulties, who would yet be conscientiously restrained from the commission of murder;—but would that make them the less thieves?—It is in this relation that pirates are put in comparison with slaveholders. Do either class take to their own use with a better right the property of the victims of their aggression?—The answer must decisively settle a subject left in some suspense

* The law, for the gradual abolition of slavery, the first enacted by any State, was dated March 1, 1780, and yet the census of 1850 was the first which represented Pennsylvania entirely clear of slaves.

in the last number of the Non-Slaveholder.

DELTA.

THE NON-SLAVEHOLDER.

PHILADELPHIA, EIGHTH MONTH, 3, 1853.

RENDITION CASES.—We sometimes feel as though it were idle to write respecting slavery. We feel, we reflect, we read, we accumulate facts and illustrations; and then it seems to us that no one can possibly be ignorant of the existence of slavery—of its great sinfulness,—of the claim upon our human sympathies,—of the absolute duty to *avoid participation in the guilt*, and to use any means which appear to be within our reach to abate the evil—the sin—the curse. At this moment we are surrounded with piles of pamphlets and periodicals, with hundreds of paragraphs which would be appropriate to our little journal, and we are sickened when we reflect that the hearts of those whom we would induce to listen to the bondman’s wail, are impenetrably cased and unapproachable.

“Every day’s report

Of wrong and outrage, with which earth is filled,”

seems only to familiarize with cruelty, and to harden the hearts which ought to sympathize.

“Vainly to the child of Fashion,

Giving to ideal woe

Graceful luxury of compassion,

Shall the stricken mourner go;

Hateful seems the earnest sorrow, beautiful the hollow show!”

The continual occurrence of rendition cases, instead of inducing abhorrence of the wicked and accursed fugitive slave law, is by tens of thousands regarded as calmly as is the regular course of equity and civil law. Strange to us it seems, but not less true, that well bred men of decent exterior, are to be found, men who are admitted into the selectest circles of refinement, men whom Beauty smiles upon, whom Respectability grasps by the hand, whom Theology entrusts with Church affairs, and who unblushingly thank God that they are not as other men are, yet who justify and approve this law which has re-baptized this nation in damning guilt, and which is augmenting the Judgment-cloud now glooming above us, and only held in suspense by long-suffering Mercy; but which must at length break in terrible retribution, unless we in time remember the mercy we ourselves shall need. The voluminous details of the case of George Smith alias Bill Fisher are before the public. As usual, in these cases, the authorities *leaned away from mercy*. The firm of ALBERTI & INGRAHAM have done another stroke of business. Ashmead has, we presume, received another fee—

and Marshall Wynkoop could have had little heart to say "get thee behind me Satan," unless he had been able to add,—“for thou art an offence unto me.” We could wish that all those who are ready and willing to execute this cruel and *unconstitutional* law, might be colonized in some island more secluded than any part of Australia, where they could not contaminate others of the human family. We clip a good paragraph respecting the Marshall from the Daily Register. To our readers we would earnestly say: Let all these outrages, which fairly illustrate the evil we long to abolish, deepen our resolve that we will withdraw our support from slavery, our custom from the Slave Market. Let us tell to our generation and teach to our children,

“That whoso gives the motive, makes
His brother's sin his own.”

“MARSHAL WYNKOOP.—The Bulletin is particularly severe in its comments on the conduct of this officer in the recent case. The Sun also. We can only add our opinion that he acted more like the partizan than officer. He seems to have espoused the cause of Howard, the claimant, with unbecoming zeal. Why should he have despatched a cab to prevent Fisher from being deposited in the county prison, and, consequently, to prevent the service of the writ of habeas corpus on Mr. Freed? Why, too, should he have displayed so much ingenuity and activity in baffling the law of the State?

The claimant in this case revived a claim of six years date. And against whom? Against a humble and friendless man, a husband, and a father. Howard's mission among us was to widow an innocent wife, to orphan four helpless children, and bear away into hopeless slavery a man who had long enjoyed the blessings of freedom. And all this, to add only a few hundred dollars to his large fortune. It was an infamous mission. What matters it to a man of honor that it was legal? Your sympathy with it was ill becoming you, Marshal Wynkoop! Your alacrity to spirit away the trembling wretch who was in your custody,—under a law which no American names in a foreign land, and which he cannot think of here without the hot flush of shame on his brow,—will be the regret of your old age. Hide, if you can, the handcuffs under your military laurels; and do not forget the four children and lonely wife who are now weeping over the desolate hearthstone. In the sight of God, their grief is a testimony against you.”

It is evidently becoming a prominent object with many philanthropists to supply the English market with free grown cotton, independent of the United States. Should the effort be successful, and the monetary interests of America suffer in consequence, we shall have ourselves only to blame. England would still have been content to purchase of us her chief supply of cotton, had not considerations of humanity induced the investment of capital in efforts to procure it from other sources. We have never desired the alienation from our own country of any honest trade. Nor is it *essential* to the procuring of free cotton if American enterprise be rightly turned to this object. A

highly valued correspondent suggests the importance of trying the experiment in South Carolina or Georgia. “Would it not,” says he, “be a capital thing if half a dozen active, energetic men, would go into one of these States, and raise Cotton by free labor, right under the eyes of the Slave-holders, setting them an example, and demonstrating the capacity of free labor to compete with the slave in this way? Could not a small plantation be bought and cut up into a dozen farms of 150 acres each, to be tilled by a dozen earnest men, applying to the cultivation of Cotton, all the genius, skill and science of free sinews?” A moderate supply of *Sea Island Cotton*, free grown, is a desideratum. This might be obtained in the manner suggested, and persons so engaged might, probably, buy in from small non-slaveholding producers around them, sufficient to enable us to introduce the finer fabrics which cannot be made from ordinary cotton.

MAINE LAW,—SINS OF OMISSION,—MATERIAL AID.—The present time calls for unremitting watchfulness, and well directed persevering action, on the part of all advocates of a prohibitory Liquor Law. In every State, in every locality, Maine Law men should organize, and should determine to act with efficiency. There is, in many vicinities, a sort of spasmodic zeal,

“Moving like a sick man in his sleep,
Three paces, and then faltering,—

which only serves to awaken the alertness of the Rum Power, and which *spends itself* in an occasional testimony. It is melancholy to observe the resoluteness of the individuals and the masses who advocate the wrong, and the apathy of a large proportion of those who enlist as laborers for the true and right. We want the Maine Law! We want it NOW! Our desires, our prayers, and our endeavors should be always with a humble reference to the sovereignty of God, whose own good time may not be our time. But if, in any Commonwealth, the enactment and enforcement of prohibitory law should be delayed one year by the tame remissness of its friends and advocates, what fearful consequences may they charge upon themselves. Through their sins of omission inebriates will have failed to reform, and a long train of dismal results will have befallen their afflicted families. Through their unfaithfulness, the appetite of moderate drinkers will have become confirmed, and the number of drunkards augmented. Young men will have fallen into the snares which Prohibitory law would have removed, and will have entered, with a rapid pace, upon the

broad way leading to the chambers of death.

Friends of Prohibition,—if, through your fault, the reign of Rum be prolonged one year, you can never recal past opportunities. The evils resulting from your non-action will be felt through eternity. Awake, then,—arise—organize, throughout the length and breadth of the land. And it will add greatly to your energy and efficiency, if liberal collections of money be made, commensurate with the importance of the object: so that there shall be no flagging in the work from recollection of an empty treasury, and from fear of being unable to defray the necessary expenses of the campaign. Let all men, and all women, *calculate the value of Maine Law*, and give liberally to the Temperance treasury, as the Lord hath prospered them.

THE RUMORED INSURRECTION in New Orleans, alluded to in our last, proved to be a false alarm. An intoxicated negro uttered, as men under such hallucination will do, swaggering words. And “on this hint” the community went into horrors, and stood on its defences. The mail was too slow of speech to be entrusted with the news, nothing short of the speed of lightning would suffice, the Eclectic Telegraph was charged with messages in every direction, and by the time that Cuffee was “himself again,” he had given to millions of people a topic for excited conversation.

But is there no lesson to be derived from this *false alarm*? Would to Heaven that the lesson might be read by all concerned, whilst as yet the well-grounded fears of those who dwell on the slumbering volcano are not realized. The people of the South would have no need to fear an uprising of the African race, if they would “break off their sins by righteousness,”—if they would “do justly, love mercy, and walk humbly with their God.” We wonder not that those who live in slave districts are readily alarmed. It is with no feeling of unkindness that we apply the adage, “the wicked flee when no man pursueth,”—and it is with sober sadness that we reflect, that the proslavery feeling and action at the North perpetuate Slavery, and must bear a full share of responsibility whenever that contest shall really come which Thomas Jefferson predicted, and in which, as he declared, “the Almighty has no attribute which can take side with us.”

We have several anonymous *metrical* favors which arrived after the quantum of verse designed for this number was in type. In these essays the sentiments are valuable, and are *in part* clothed in harmonious numbers. Yet there are lines and stanzas which are sufficient-

ly out of tune to give pain to the practised ear, and thus we cannot find use for them as articles of luxury. Dr. Johnson says; “as there is no necessity for our having poetry at all, it being merely a luxury, an instrument of pleasure, it can have no value unless when exquisite of its kind.” Were we to place our standard so high as that of the erudite lexicographer, we should withhold our own pen forever from versification. Yet we certainly would not recommend the use of rhyme for unimaginative essays upon unpoetical themes, when the same talent, with less effort, if employed in prose writing, would act more strongly upon both the judgment and the heart of the reader. For instance:

“Rather than Slaves should toil for me
I’d go without my cigar,
And have my coffee and my tea
And pies made without sugar.”

The sentiment is laudable, but, did we need conversion on this point, we should have been more impressed by the remark in humble prose, that the essayist *would rather forego the dainties which pamper appetite, than have his fellow beings compelled to furnish them by unrequited toil amidst agony and oppression.* To this correspondent we volunteer our advice to “taste not the pierrian spring.” The same counsel might have been extended to a Bard (?) of a generation ago, who scintillated the following brilliancy:

“From house to house we took our departure,
And went into the garden to view sweet Nature.”

Another effusion (which might perhaps have been marked for insertion in our next, is under consideration. But our declining to publish is no evidence that we do not appreciate. We have always more material than we can use, and hence our labor is greater than if our sheet were double its present dimensions. The favors, in prose, of sundry esteemed contributors, are of necessity postponed. Several Essays are on hand of about equal value, and somewhat similar in character, and in quantum more than sufficient to fill our sheet. One makes inquiries to which we would cheerfully respond *by letter*, were we favored with the writer’s address.

We often long to clip from our valuable exchanges, and our fingers tingle with *cacoethes scribendi* in reference to sundry new publications, which ought to be noticed.

ERRATUM.—We have a Printer who approaches to infallibility as nearly as his brethren, yet the following errors crept into our last number. Page 69, third line of article on “Slave Produce,”—for *privacy* read *Piracy*. In the poem on page 64, lines 18 and 19 should read thus,

“Whose streams in crystalline clearness roll,
With healing fraught for the sin-sick soul.”

Printed at the Gazette Office, Burlington, N. J.

THE NON-SLAVEHOLDER.

"Whoso gives the motive, makes his brother's sin his own."

VOL. I.—NEW SERIES.]

PHILADELPHIA, NINTH MONTH, 1853.

[No. 9.

WILLIAM J. ALLINSON, EDITOR.

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AN APPEAL FOR THE BONDWOMAN,

TO HER OWN SEX.

BY ELIZABETH LLOYD, JR.

PART III.

THOU OF THE GIFTED MIND!

Born to a sceptre and a realm unknown,
With thy keen vision bent upon mankind,
Where are thy glances thrown?

Where have thy lines been cast,
Fisher of treasures in Time's rolling sea,
What of the watch? what hath the hoary Past
In trust revealed to thee?

Where hast thou sown the seed,
Gathered beside the lamp with patient toil,
From Learning's fields, dim record, and old creed?
Where hast thou hid thy spoil?

Who hath the wiser grown,
That thou art learned, in herb and rock, and tree,
That Nature's secrets hath herself made known,
Her voice instructed thee?

Why dost thou dwell apart?—
Ah, it may be, that thou hast borne away
Into thy solitude a wounded heart,
Too sore to "watch and pray."

It is the lot of all
Who feel, to suffer—and no cup is free,
However seeming sweet, from drops of gall;
Our doom we cannot flee!

Thou of the gifted mind!
For all thy wealth thou hast a debt to pay;
To aid the poor, to guide the weak and blind,
That travel on thy way.

And who a friend so needs,
As she that draws her very breath in fear?

Outraged and scourged—who questions as she
bleeds,

'Can the Great God be near?

'Can the All-just behold?'

Can the All-merciful look down and see
My tortured form—my soul to darkness sold,
Nor stoop to succor me?

'Am I of that blest race,
He shed His blood on Calvary to save?
No! from my wretchedness He hides His face—
No Father hath the slave!'

Oh! let it break thy dream—
Shut it not out, that sad despairing cry—
It may upon thy heart let in a gleam
Of light to labor by.

With thine eye fix'd on Heaven,
And thy light footstep free upon the earth,
Put on thy strength—for generous action given,
And to her rescue, forth!

ALWAYS REJOICING.

[The following extract from a letter from the
late A. W. H., shows instructively how an
aged negro saint could rejoice continually *in*
the Lord, when all ordinary sources of enjoy-
ment were excluded.—Ed.]

A clergyman in England was visiting a mine,
and, when far beneath the surface, beyond the
reach of solar light, his attention was arrested
by the sound of music, floating through those
gloomy caverns in clear silvery cadences, and
deep rich heart notes of melody.

He followed the sound through chill horrid
channels, black with perpetual darkness, where
the flickering torch only threw a passing glare
upon unfathomed dangers. At length the
music swelled upon his delighted ear, in clear-
er, fuller tones, and on turning an angle he
found the sole performer, an aged NEGRO, to-
tally *blind*, and bending beneath a load of phy-
sical infirmities. The clergyman asked him to
repeat those words of such wondrous melody,
and he found them to be simply these: "In
the morning I shall be in Heaven." This was
all he knew of poesy, and doubtless was his
own. The melody was that of the soul: an
afflicted and tried soul, but one that had learn-
ed to lean upon the Savior as the alone Refuge
and Comforter.

There was this poor creature in the midst of

utter penury, continually stationed at one spot, employed for years in the monotonous labor of opening and shutting a door, deprived of social and domestic enjoyments, shut out from light and sound, and even fresh air; yet so filled with the love of God as to be ever rejoicing in his goodness, and looking forward, not with *fretful yearning*, but with cheerful resignation and delighted hope, to the dawning of that eternal day that should beam, in cloudless beauty, upon the sanctified and redeemed.

No eye shall then be sightless, nor shall the tears of sorrow dim the vision: but they shall behold the King in His beauty, and their voices shall join one rapturous hosanna to his praise.

Hereafter, when the clouds of sorrow shall so darken about me as to obscure the sweet light of hope, when the storms of contention shall have dimmed all my horizon, and the dust clouds of petty cares shall be almost overpowering, I will remember the poor miner, and tremblingly enquire: Have I a well grounded hope that when all these mutations are passed, I shall know an everlasting morning, which I shall spend in Heaven?

For the Non-Slaveholder.

Yea a man may say, Thou hast faith and I have works: show me thy faith without thy works, and I will show thee my faith by my works.—*James 2. 18.*

PRACTICE *versus* PROFESSION.

Profession.—The more I reflect upon Slavery and its manifold enormities, the more irreconcilable it appears to me with the commonest notions of honesty, as entertained by mankind the world over.

Practice.—Yes I agree with thy remark, having long ago been forced to adopt the sentiment. Hence, feeling strongly impressed with a sense of its injustice, it became my duty to assist by moral means in its overthrow.

Prof.—It is a system which should everywhere be spoken against.

Prac.—And not only *spoken* against, but *our influence and example should be steadily opposed to it*. In order to do this consistently, we must withdraw our support of it, and cease to countenance it in any shape.

Prof.—Certainly, we must not be slaveholders. Indeed we are in no danger of committing this wrong whilst we reside in those states where it is prohibited by law. I would have all who are not slave holders protest against it.

Prac.—But I would first have all thoroughly examine whether or not they are slaveholders!

Prof.—What dost thou mean by slaveholder? My understanding of the word, is, I believe, according to its common acceptation: one who

owns or claims to own a human being as his property; holding him as bound to serve him, and him only, except as it is his will to transfer his claim to others. This pretension, I believe to be unjust, and I protest against it.

Prac.—I go further. I esteem every man a slaveholder, who *assists in causing a person to be held as a slave*. He who owns a plantation in Louisiana or Alabama, and consents to its cultivation by slaves, though he may reside in Philadelphia, and never see the slaves or the land, is, to all intents and purposes, A SLAVEHOLDER, although he may not receive a cent of the profits. So, if he does not own the land, but employs the slaveholder who does own it, to raise for him sugar or cotton by slave-labor, he is still in effect a slaveholder: the slaves are held in his service. Though he does not claim to own them, to drive them, to clothe or to feed them, they are held, driven, &c., by the aid of his means—he is the prompting cause of their being held and the immediate holder is *his agent*.

Prof.—That is tracing responsibility further than I had apprehended it to go.

Prac.—Allow me to proceed. Still further, I maintain that he who voluntarily buys or consumes the sugar or cotton, offered in the market, which he has sufficient reasons for believing to have been raised by the labor of slaves, is a participant after the fact, in the crime of holding the slaves, by whose labor the said product was prepared, and aids, by his countenance and support, in prompting to the continuance of slaveholding, and is therefore, because of his connection with the system, virtually a slave-holder. GREGORY.

To be continued.

For the Non-Slaveholder.

THE SNARE OF GRADUALISM.

There is, in the proposition for a gradual abolition of Slavery, that it may prove a blessing to master and slave, something plausible and inviting, and it readily obtains assent, not because of its justice, but rather because it accords with inclination, and affords a quiet resting place from all action upon the subject. This view has quieted the consciences of many, who, otherwise, actuated by the plain principles of justice and christianity, would have accomplished much, in giving their influence towards the liberation of the suffering bondman. It has so paralyzed religious sects, that they have not failed to proclaim the slave's wrongs, the master's iniquity and loss,—and to bear an uncompromising testimony against the abhorrent evil.

This delusive idea of gradual emancipation, has destroyed the agency for good of not a few, of all classes. At the important crisis moment, when the idea of giving perpetuity to human slavery would not have been tolerated, an assumed expediency, and the policy of worldly wisdom, dictated

that Slavery in this country, should be left undisturbed for the present, and that it was so repugnant to a republican government, that it would, of necessity, become gradually extinguished, as the proper circumstances favored. This idea was evidently both entertained and acted upon by the slave's friends, who assisted in framing the U. S. Constitution, and consented to sign the anomalous instrument. Here we see wise men under the influence of the gradualism idea, giving security, and countenance, in the otherwise excellent Constitution, to a system of barbarity and injustice, and of aggression upon human liberty, that has doomed its millions to degradation and suffering. So abhorrent was Slavery then, in its infancy, that the framers of the Constitution, were ashamed to legislate for its protection, so they effected their object by construction, in a round of words—which in a good cause they would have reached, by a frank, manly expression, the word slave being studiously avoided. Blinded by the attractive plan of gradually ceasing from gross injustice, they were too insensible of the inevitably calamitous results of denying to the African race the inestimable blessing of liberty, which they proudly declared to be the birth-right of all men.

The gradualism idea is fraught with much injury to the slave's cause. Those who adopt it, acknowledge the present rightfulness of Slavery, in the logical inference that where it is wrong to emancipate, it must be right to enslave. They are thus unprepared to exert their influence for its extinction, resting in the delusive hope that at some future period circumstances will better favor the measure. But alas! giving perpetuity to the system only increases the obstructions to its removal. The injunction "cease to do evil," is immediate in its bearing, it is never too soon to fulfil the command to "deal justly and love mercy," nor can the mandate be violated with impunity.

Now if emancipation at the adoption of the Constitution was unwarranted—if the master's claim to his slave was just and right under circumstances then existing, there could have been no iniquity in legalizing it. If at later periods, and even at the present, the slave's right to himself has become invalid, and spurious from circumstances beyond his control, circumstances, that have out-balanced his claim to liberty, so that morality and christianity forbid the removal of his bondage yoke—then is the Statesman right in throwing guaranties around the system of Slavery—the christian professor in disregarding the cries of the oppressed—the Editor in giving his influence in behalf of the system, and the dealers in, and consumers of slave labor products, are entirely consistent in patronizing slavery by the purchase of such products of the master. But these assumptions we unhesitatingly deny, and ought therefore not to practice upon them.

Americans admit the right to liberty, to be inalienable. Then all the abuse, and deprivation heaped upon the African, has had no tendency to diminish the validity of his right. This renders the master's claim, at all times and forever spurious. These are self-evident truths, too plain for denial, and had they been adopted (instead of the gradualism idea), at the beginning of our Country's Independence, by the leading part of the community, then, instead of an increase of Slavery, the word slave, would long since have ceased to stain the statute books, to disturb the peace of civil and reli-

gious society, and to disgrace and curse the country. And the same happy results, would yet be produced in a short period, did people generally investigate the subject upon its own merits; they would abandon, as erroneous and unjust, all gradualism, which has long fostered the system of Slavery, and still continues to give it support to an alarming extent. Like so many tributary streams to the great Ocean of pro-slavery sentiment, almost all classes of men give their influence to sustain the accursed system. The statesman, the politician, the editor, the christian professor, the artisan, the merchant, the agriculturist, and consumer, it is these contributors that keep the system alive with all its attendant evils. Shall it cease, or shall it continue? this query let each one answer for himself. Let man, woman and child answer, *no, not by my aid!* This resolution made practical, would secure a speedy triumph over a barbarous system of cruelty and oppression, that would be far more honorable and glorious, than any heretofore achieved by this country. D. I.

QUAKER-HILL, 23d of 6th mo., 1853.

EGYPT NOT ALL DARKNESS.

The southern portion of the State of Illinois is settled generally by people from the South, and, whether from the ignorance of the settlers or from some other cause, it is known as Egypt. The name is patent to this portion of the State, and it is supposed by many that it was to conciliate the prejudices of the Egyptians that the Black laws of the last Illinois Legislature was passed. During the recent session of the Universalist State Convention, at St. Charles, Ill., two resolutions were introduced by the business Committee—one strongly favoring the adoption of the Maine Law, and calling upon all Christians to support it; the other equally pointed in opposition to the "Black Law." The Maine Law resolution passed without objection; but when they came to that against the "Black Law," a report of the proceedings says:

"A worthy divine—a Mr. Mc somebody, of McHenry county—seeing that a large number of the Convention were from the Southern part of the State, rose in his seat, and said he was sorry the resolution was presented; he was opposed to mixing up politics with religion; there were members from the Southern part of the State, who could not support it; it was extremely wrong to throw in a firebrand to disturb the peace and harmony of the Convention. He thought that the Law was a judicious one, right in itself, and hoped that the resolution might not be pressed upon the Convention."

This was too much for the Convention to stand, and,

"Upon taking his seat, a long, straight, six-foot-three Kentuckian rose deliberately, and after letting his eye wander over the assembly, finally fixed it upon the gentleman from McHenry, and said, 'I am extremely glad that I have attended this Convention. Owing to the

distance from my home to this place, it was some time before I determined to come. But once here, and after the remarks of the brother who has preceded me, I feel amply repaid for travelling three hundred miles. I have travelled, almost continually during the last six months, mostly in the southern part of this State, have mixed freely with all classes of people, and I have come to this Convention to hear a man from one of the most northern counties of the State stand up and defend a law so infamous that it *cannot find a single apologist in all Egypt!* I would not have failed to attend this Convention for five hundred dollars, since I should have missed the spectacle of a man—a minister of the religion of Christ, who brought peace and good-will among men—defending such a monstrous piece of iniquity as the Black Law of the Illinois Legislature of 1853. The old Kentuckian then turned to the Convention, and spoke upon the resolution for the space of half an hour, in a very impressive and eloquent manner; and when the question was put upon the passage of the resolution, not a dissenting voice was heard. The gentlemen from McHenry was ‘as a sheep before his shearer, dumb—so he opened not his mouth.’”

So may all doughfaces be rebuked, when they palter to prejudice, and display their own servility.—*Nat. Era.*

THE NON-SLAVEHOLDER.

PHILADELPHIA, NINTH MONTH, 7, 1853.

EGYPT NOT ALL DARKNESS.—We have sometimes thought that the personage who is declared to be “not so black as he’s painted,” can have no very high respect for his volunteer tools and over obsequious minions, particularly when they “steal the livery of Heaven” to serve him in. The “worthy divine” who figures in the article with the above caption, is a fair sample of a large class of northern men, who continually forfeit their own self-respect, by advocating the wrong to please the south. They don the collar and the harness, sillily inflict upon themselves “the soul’s emasculation,” and

‘Thus trammelled, thus condemned to Flattery’s trebles,
They toil thro’ all, still trembling to be wrong;
For fear some noble tho’ts like heavenly rebels,
Should rise up in high treason to their brain,
They sing, as the Athenian spoke, with pebbles
In mouth, lest Truth should stammer through their strain.”

And what thanks have they? what is their reward? Certainly not that peace which passeth understanding, which is independent of outward prosperity, and which will sweeten the most adverse circumstance. Not the consciousness of their Heavenly Father’s approval. Not

the approbation of any honorable intellect. Not the *respect* of even any rogue.

“Traitors cannot discern, till, with Arnold, they learn
That their payment is scorn from the party who buys them,
They are bought with a price, they accept it in vice,
And they find in a trice that their buyers despise them.”

Men of the North—you are happily exempt from peculiar trials to which our Southern brethren are subjected. As you stand then upon the soil of freedom, plant your feet firmly there in God’s strength, and extend to your brother the unblenching glance of honest love, the voice of truth, the helping hand of firm consistency. Compromise is no kindness:—if his own faith fail, he needs the strength of your assurance in the right, and if you will be honest, honorable, consistent, uncompromising, and maintain the Christian spirit, American slavery will cease. We know of nothing more ignoble, more adverse to the dignity and true well-being of man than *Northern proslavery*. Nor do we know of a more inoffensive or more emphatic rebuke thereto, than a steady non-use of the fruit of oppression.

NON-PARTICIPANT’S PLEDGE.—In the “Bond of Brotherhood” is submitted the following PLEDGE.

“Believing that the voluntary consumption of the products of the Slave, is a participation in the crime of the system which holds him in bondage, I do hereby pledge myself to abstain, as far as possible, from the use of any article which has been produced by his unrequited toil.”

E. Burritt argues, that in moral obligation this would present as strong a claim as the Temperance Pledge, and, in moral responsibility, involve less hazard. In this case he says,

“We do not declare war against a habit which has set all the appetites of our system on fire, as the drunkard does, when he signs the tee-total pledge.” * *
“It is utterly impossible ever to acquire a thirst or appetite for Carolina rice or cotton, to be compared with the thirst for Gin and Brandy.”

A PROFESSING RUMSELLER.—A few days ago, on board one of our river Steamers, a fellow passenger introduced to us his companion, as “a Presbyterian Rumseller.” “A strange compound!” was our response—“the two professions don’t agree—Rumselling is essentially inconsistent with Presbyterianism, or any other phase of Christianity.” Being pressed for time and compelled to make our words few, we wished to render them *savory* also. The following conversation ensued, an audience quickly gathering round.

Non-Slaveholder.—I hold thy business in abhorrence as a great sin against God and man. However it may have been winked at in times of ignorance, yet those times have passed, and it is, as I conceive, out of the question for a Christian to sell intoxicating liquors indiscriminately as a beverage.

Rumseller.—We have the sanction of Law. We are licensed.

N. Slaveholder.—By joining the Presbyterian Church thou hast consented to a *higher law*; and no human enactment can render this business innocent. I abhor it with all my heart. I have no unkindness towards Rumsellers—I desire the conversion and the salvation of them all;—but their business I hate with perfect hatred. I would rather license a volcano in the midst of our most populous streets, than a Rum Shop; and should think it the lesser evil.

Rumseller.—You use very strong language.

N. Slaveholder.—It is not the hasty language of excitement, but the result of calm reflection. I would rather license, in the midst of a crowded city, any number of volcanoes, than so many Rum Shops.

Rumseller.—The people want public houses and they must have them.

N. Slaveholder.—The Public ought to change their habits about the use of Public Houses. A temperance man should pay for the accommodation he receives at a Hotel. The owner should be paid for the use of his fire, of his carpet, and for all the accommodations he provides. It is a shame for the Temperance men to enjoy all these at the expense of the poor drunkard, who spends his earnings at the bar, while his family are suffering from want.

Rumseller.—That's very true, sir. I agree with you *there*. I always thought it *mean* for the temperance men to come to our houses and then abuse us.

N. Slaveholder.—But the Rumseller has no business to complain. The temperance man ought to pay his own way for the testimony's sake, but it takes the community some time to get out of established usages. But, as I said, the Rumseller has no right to complain. He has purchased permission to curse the community to an indefinite extent, in purse, in body, and in soul; to be the very worst of all bad citizens; to ensnare and to ruin all whom he can, for time and for eternity. For this privilege he pays a two-fold price:—a paltry license fee,—and an agreement to give certain accommodations to the public. *He* is not aggrieved: (on the contrary he merits the penitentiary)—and the temperance man has a legal right in common with others to the accommodation so dearly purchased;—but he ought not to give his sanction to the contract.

Rumseller.—Well—you can't show any thing in the Bible against Rumselling!

N. Slaveholder.—Why the whole tenor of the Book is against it. Didst thou ever read the tenth Psalm?—

A Bible lay on the cabin table, we opened it

and read the Psalm with emphasis. The whole of it made an evident impression, especially verses 8 and 9,—

“He sitteth in the lurking places of the villages:
In the secret places doth he murder the innocent:
His eyes are privily set against the poor,
He lieth in wait secretly as a lion in his den:
He lieth in wait to catch the poor:
He DOTH catch the poor when he draweth him into his net.”

Rumseller.—Do you think that refers to Rumsellers?

N. Slaveholder.—I *know* that it *applies* to Rumsellers,—and if I were one I would take it to myself.

A Passenger.—If you were a Rumseller you wouldn't read it.

Another Passenger.—The worst Rumseller, I know, has'nt been to a place of worship these thirty years.

N. Slaveholder.—I would have thee to notice that in the sacred writings, especially in the New Testament, great truths and principles are laid down, and it is our duty to conform our lives to them, without expecting to see every particular deviation from them separately specified and condemned. We are to apply the principles of Christianity, according to the best light we have.

Here the dialogue closed. The liquor-seller seemed confused and conscious, and his friend informed us that he made no unkind remarks upon what had passed, but seemed “much galled by the Psalm.”

A TESTAMENT FOR SLAVE-LAND CIRCULATION.—Punch, who, together with his abundant nonsense, not unfrequently gives utterance to a well-timed satire, thus bestows a sly poke upon the Slaveocracy.

THE SLAVE-OWNER'S TESTAMENT.—It would be a gainful speculation for an enterprising publisher to get up, for circulation among serious slave-owners, a Family New Testament, with the objectionable passages expurgated; the passages to be expunged as objectionable being those whereby the practices of buying, selling, flogging, and otherwise treating black men and women like beasts, or worse than beasts, is forbidden in the injunction to act towards others as we would have them act towards ourselves.—*Punch*.

The hint is far from meaningless. The “Southern Chivalry” understand, far better than some abolitionists appear to do, that the Sacred Volume is an Anti-Slavery Book. Hence their aversion to its being read to or by their colored population. Hence the practice which prevails, on some plantations, of reading to the assembled Slaves certain favorite passages in which pro-slavery sagacity has given the finishing touch to the words of inspiration: as—“Slaves, be obedient to them that are your masters according to the flesh, for the disobedient Slave shall be beaten till his sides are sore,” (Ephes. vi. 5).—Hence professed ministers and ambassadors of Him, who left the throne of his glory and took on him the form of a servant, for the sake of the humblest African as surely as for his proudest oppressor, and who declared it a part of his mission “to

break every yoke,"—messengers of His glad tidings are to be found, who will

Torture the pages of the hallowed Bible,
To sanction crime and robbery and blood,
And in Oppression's hateful service, libel
Both man and God!"

Some of them will feel this *punch* in a sore place, for, notwithstanding their professed indifference to transatlantic sentiment, their

"feelings are as soft and sensible
As are the tender horns of cockled snails."

LITERARY NOTICES.

NARRATIVE OF A RECENT VISIT TO BRAZIL,
by John Candler and Wilson Burgess: to present an address on the *Slave Trade and Slavery*, issued by the religious Society of Friends. —91 pages.

We have been obliged to delay our notice of this valuable pamphlet, which is, as might be expected, characterized by candor, by simple perspicuity, and by earnest sincerity. The object of their mission, as set forth in the title of the book, is pretty well understood by our readers; and we need hardly, at this date, explain, that the Address to the Sovereigns and Rulers of Christian Nations, adopted by London Yearly Meeting, had already been favorably presented throughout Europe. The movements of the valued Friends composing the several deputations, have illustrated the truth that "Wisdom is profitable to direct." The arrival of a deputation to our own General and State Governments, is now expected on our shores, and having full confidence in the genuineness of the *origin* of this religious concern, and in the christian discretion of the beloved Friends who have been deputed, we do not doubt that they will be courteously received, we do not doubt that they will steadily seek for divine assistance to pursue this service, for Christ's sake, in a meek and Christian Spirit, and we trust that they will have the sympathy and the prayers, of those who, whilst dwelling in their ceiled houses, would willingly consider themselves as the constituents of these Christian Ambassadors. One of these dear friends writes, in a private letter, "our deputations have been well received in all the countries thus far visited; will the United States do otherwise than receive us kindly?"—We believe not: but to the pamphlet before us.

Our friends landed on the 2d of 10th Mo., 1852, at Pernambuco, "a large town of about 100,000 inhabitants, chiefly slaves." * * "The Slaves go without shoes to distinguish them from the colored free people."

During the voyage, several copies of Uncle Tom's Cabin having been brought out by the passengers,

"And observing one of them intent on reading it day after day, we ventured to ask him what he thought of

the work. It is all true, he replied; I know it to be true. I am, unhappily, a slave-holder myself. Slavery is as much a curse to the master as to the slave.' Much, and with great reason, as we may object to works prepared in this manner, to suit the public taste, it is quite certain that the reading of this extraordinary book has done much good: it has led many persons to see, what they never saw or thought of before, that slavery is a great moral evil, whether in America or any other land,—a hideous institution, which no professing Christian can with consistency tolerate for a single hour. England has abolished slavery: France has abolished it: so have Sweden and Denmark. The United States of America must shortly follow the example thus placed before them, or cease to hold a high rank among Christian nations. Never before were the two continents of the Old and New World agitated on on this question as they now are; there is, doubtless, an overruling Providence in it: the words of a modern poet, himself an American, are beginning to be realised:—

'Tis the waking up of nations
From slavery's fatal sleep;
The murmur of a universe:
Deep calling unto deep."

May the movement, so long and so much needed, hasten on from murmurs to lawful action, until freedom is everywhere secured to the slave!"

In two days they reached Bahia.

"The slaves and free blacks of Bahia have been chiefly brought from the coast of Benin, near the province of Mina, and are a remarkably fine race of people. The slaves are decently dressed on their lower limbs: the men go naked to the waist, and the women wear only a loose wrapper of cotton cloth; they thus display their fine limbs and noble proportions, and exhibit forms that a statuary would be emulous to copy. They perform an immense amount of labour, such as ought to be performed by horses, mules or oxen, and are evidently treated as if belonging to a lower grade in the animal creation. In bearing great loads up the steep ascents of the city, their nostrils expand with hard breathing, and they sing somewhat dolefully to relieve the chest. Sometimes, when the work is not hard, they sing cheerfully. About fifty of these fine men came on board to assist in coaling the ship, and as they lifted up the huge and heavy sacks of coal by a long rope, they marched in time on the deck, and sang an African song, which some of us thought had as much of melody in it, as the performances of our Italian opera-singer, who was going on a professional visit to Rio de Janeiro."

On the 9th, their arrival at Rio de Janeiro completed their voyage of 5240 miles. A chief officer of the customs "cleared their luggage with kindness and dispatch," and on reading their letter of introduction, said,

"I am glad of your mission: I have been striving with others these 20 years to put down the Slave trade; we cannot go as far as you do in regard to Slavery; our circumstances forbid it; but I will do what I can to help you."

The pages before us are rich in intelligent descriptions which we must omit.

"As we were walking in the 'Rua direita,' a Brazilian gentleman accosted us in imperfect English, informing us that he had been in England and knew that we were Quakers. 'They ask me,' he continued, 'who you are; I tell them Quakers, Friends—very good people. I knew a Quaker in London (William Allen) a very good man indeed.' Finding him disposed to be familiar, we told him that we were seeking the way to the National Library. 'I will go with you,' he said. Taking us by the arm he conducted us to a narrow paved court-way which we had just avoided. A Roman

Catholic church, in which high mass was performing, opened by its principal entrance into the court, and a number of persons stood bare-headed before the doors. We requested him not to take us that way, as we could not take off our hats in honour of the service, and we desired not to give offence. 'Never mind,' was his rejoinder, 'leave that to me.' On coming to the people, he took off his own hat, and as we passed through them, he said 'These are my friends, you must give dispensation;' and we were suffered to go on without molestation. Such dispensation is not permitted in Portugal. The truth is that in Brazil, though a strictly Roman Catholic country, in which no natives are protestants, there is a large amount of religious as well as of civil liberty. English and American protestants are allowed to build places of public worship so long as the exterior is simple, without a steeple and without bells, and to worship in their own manner; nor the Roman Catholics forbidden, if they please, to attend a protestant service. Free permission is given by law to the circulation of the Holy Scriptures: an agent of the American Bible Society sells them at a moderate price at a store in the city, and a Romam Catholic bookseller advertises for sale the Bibles of the British and Foreign Bible Society. We found, on inquiry, that the demand was small, and that the Bibles were objected to, as wanting the Apocrypha. So little aid is afforded by the State to a persecuting spirit on the part of the Romish bishops and clergy, that a travelling agent for the selling of Bibles might pass through the country unmolested. The fault of the Brazilians in regard to religion is not intolerance, but indifference: the common people, as in all Popish countries, are deeply superstitious; the upper or educated class, who rule the nation, are spoken of by those who observe them, as influenced greatly by the literature of France, and strongly disposed to infidelity. In such a nation, under the combined influences of Popery, infidelity, and slavery, it would be vain to expect a commendable state of morals."

An interview with the Emperor was arranged for the presentation of their Address, which, we are well informed, includes an uncompromising condemnation of Slavery, which it denounces as unchristian.

"A servant in attendance directed us to an ante-room. After waiting half an hour, a gentleman of the household desired us to follow him to the hall of audience, where he said we should find the Emperor. This was our only introduction. A fine tall man, dressed in plain clothes, but with a diamond star on his breast, seeing us enter, kindly walked a few paces to meet us. We knew him to be the Emperor. The gentleman who attend him on occasions of audience, stood at a distant part of the room. Holding the parchment in our hands, we addressed him in the following manner. 'May it please the Emperor to permit us briefly to explain the cause of our coming to Brazil? We are Members of the Society of Friends, in England. That Society has long felt a deep deep sympathy for the wrongs of Africa, in the existence of the slave-trade in different countries, and deplores also the continuance of slavery. Influenced by this feeling, it has believed it to be a religious duty to prepare an Address to the Sovereigns and Rulers of Christian nations on the subject. This address has been presented to many of the Courts of Europe; and we are deputed to present it to the Emperor of Brazil. Will the Emperor condescend to receive it at our hands?' The Emperor, taking the parchment, said, 'I will receive it with pleasure, and read it.' 'May we be allowed to congratulate the Emperor, and to express our thankfulness that the slave-trade is extinguished, or nearly so, in Brazil?' 'The Emperor,—I wish to see it abolished all over the world.' 'May we also express our desire that He who rules in the heavens, by whom Kings rule and decree justice, may be pleased to bless the Emperor and Empress, and their children, and give prosperity and peace to Brazil?' The

Emperor,—"I thank you very much." Here the interview ended, and we retired.

"On returning from the palace, we called on Euzebio, the late Minister of Justice to the Empire, an earnest opposer of the African slave-trade, who expressed his gratification at receiving such a visit; and intimated his determination, though no longer in office, to continue his efforts to suppress a practice so disgraceful to the Brazilian name."

The Editors of the daily papers in Rio Janeiro promised to insert their address.

"It was found, however, too stringent and uncompromising to suit the public taste; one part of it, relating to the slave-trade, and that part only, made its appearance in the 'Correio Mercantil'; no part of it was printed in the other Government paper, the 'Journal do Commercio,' during our stay in Brazil. We resolved therefore, without delay, to send copies of it by post to persons of influence throughout the empire, and took advantage of an undisturbed residence of a few days in the mountain-district of Tejucca to carry out the design."

The Slave trade in Brazil is to a great extent honestly suppressed. Many of the large land-owners are benefited by the change.

"Some of them who prefer the comfort of being out of debt to the pride of power, begin to feel, with the community at large, that the slave-traffic is bad for themselves and the country. There is little or no outcry against its suppression from the planters, nor, generally speaking, from the native Brazilians. The chief opponents of this new measure of the Government are the Portuguese traders, who have grown rich by these iniquitous transactions, and who have become, from this cause, a powerful class, but whose race, it is to be hoped, is now nearly run. Between the native Brazilians and the resident Portuguese, there has long been a rivalry of feeling, and the profits of the slave-trade, monopolized by the latter, had served to exasperate it. The same rivalry, combined with other causes, may tend to prevent its revival.

Although, viewing Christianity as a Religion of Peace, we cannot but deplore all resort to arms to further any cause, however righteous, we must state our conviction that the late conduct of Great Britain in chasing the African slavers into the harbors of Brazil, and making seizures of them under its very forts, has contributed mainly to stimulate the Government of Brazil to put down the African slave-trade to that country. It deeply wounded the pride of the nation to see its past insincerity and bad faith thus exposed to the whole world; the Emperor therefore resolved to take the matter at once into his own hands, and, by bold measures, to crush the traffic."

Our friends journeyed through the land, leaving copies of their manifesto against Slavery with the owners of estates, one of which they describe as 12 miles square, containing 240,000 coffee trees: 100 acres are appropriated to sugar culture.

"While riding out one morning during our stay in Tejucca, we witnessed a sight that caused us to shudder; it was a black man being tied up by another black, probably for the purpose of flogging, and his owner or overseer standing by with apparent unconcern. We were admiring the lovely scenery by which we were surrounded, but on seeing this, it immediately cast such a gloom over the whole that admiration gave way to a feeling of sadness."

They visited the JOHN DEL REY GOLD MINES, the power of which to yield gold, is described as only limited by the want of labor-

ers. They are chiefly worked by Slaves, "and the mortality of the mines is very great."

"The present superintendent of the mines has a high character for humanity and kindness. Still, we have the startling fact before us, that Englishmen are slaveholders, and work their slaves in unhealthy mines for the paltry love of gold; they obtain 10 per cent. per annum and often much more, for the capital they employ; but the sinews of their servants are in the mean time shrinking, their bodily powers decay, and a fearful rate of mortality goes on! Had the slaves whom the Company now hold been purchased by it since the passing of Lord Brougham's Act, in 1843, instead of before that period, every individual share-holder, we presume, might be looked upon by law as a felon, and be liable to a prosecution in our criminal courts. But every shareholder is a slave-holder now; and if slave-holding be a crime, where is the difference, *in foro conscientie*, between having slaves purchased before a given date, or after it? The subject is a national reproach: and all who possess a share in the capital of the Company, may adopt the language of Scripture,—"We are verily guilty concerning our brother."

Our friends in various instances evinced their fidelity and efficiency. Having heard in England of some English boys reduced in Brazil to a state of semi-slavery, they investigated the matter. "The minister for Foreign Affairs, at Rio, as soon as the complaint was made, issued a commission of inquiry, and on the proofs adduced of harsh treatment to these poor boys, ordered instant reparation."

The favorable reception of our friends by those whose interests were arrayed against the mission, and by the various functionaries is a good token of their fitness for this labor of love. On leaving Rio for Bahia they had the satisfaction that their passports of leaving, which were liable to a fee of \$60, were sent to them free of charge.

At Bahia, an opportunity presented of witnessing the superstition of the negroes.

"In walking the street on one of the Saints' days, we saw rockets in the air and heard the sound of loud crackers. We asked what the rejoicing meant: "The host is lifted up in the church, and the people outside send up the rockets to let the Saint know, and to beg his prayers." A short time since, after a long period of dry weather, the people began to be uneasy, and asked the priests what they could do to obtain rain. After serious consultation, it was agreed that there should be an exchange of Saints: the images of two of the churches should be removed and take each other's places; and there should be music, and rockets, and a long procession. The day came: men and women of every class, in holiday attire, attended by priests in their paraphernalia, with long black gowns, and broad black hats, moved slowly along from one church to the other, to assist in the ceremonies. The work was accomplished: rain fell, and priests and people proclaimed a miracle of Grace! "And do you really think," said our friend Baines, to an intelligent priest, "that the changing of these images has brought these showers?" "Indeed I do," was his reply; as soon as the work was done, it began to rain: what else could it be? With a religion of this sort, and with occasional holidays of mirth, the poor slaves are taught to believe that they may become happy here and hereafter. The fetters, however, that bind the limbs of some of them are felt to be galling, even in the cities. The newspapers abound in advertisements of runaway servants, with offers of large rewards for their apprehension. They

are sold by public auction, with other chattels, and are separated from their families, and sent under slave-drivers to be sold to the plantations. The lot of the slaves in Bahia is alleviated by their concentration and immense number, and the bold front they exhibit of strong forms and physical power, which silently says to their masters, "It is better to treat us well;" but still, slavery is, and must be, a bitter draught, even in that city; and though many are made to drink of it, it is not the less bitter on that account."

We propose to finish our notice of this narrative in our next number.

Notice to the Friends of Free Labor.

THE Proprietor of the Free Labor Warehouse in this city deems it proper to inform the friends of the free labor movement in this country, that he continues his efforts to provide a variety of articles of DRY GOODS and GROCERIES, which may be relied on as strictly free from the stain of Slavery.

Notwithstanding the many difficulties constantly to be encountered, he has been able to present every year, to the acceptance of his customers an increased variety, with the quality of many articles considerably improved.

The following are among the articles prepared and preparing for the fall trade, viz:

Bleached Shirtings and Sheetings,
Unbleached do. do.
Ginghams of various qualities,
Friendly and Fancy Prints,
Plain and Plaid Lustres,
Satin Stripe and Linen Lustres,
Poplins, De Laines, De Beiges,
Satin Stripe De Laines, and
Mode De Laines, part cotton,
Hungarian and Sirocco Fancies,
Fancy Silk Stripe Crossover,
Plain, Plaid and Striped Glaces Silks,
India Mull Muslin,
Plaid Muslins, Paper Muslins,
Coloured Cambrics, Ticking,
Furniture Checks, Gingham Hdks,
Linen, Linen pkt. hdks, and Table Cloths,
A variety of Silk pocket Handkerchiefs,
American Crash and Diaper,
An assortment of Satinets,
Suspenders, Gloves,
Silk Shirts and Drawers,
Merino do. do.
do Hosiery, Cotton Hosiery,
Silk do Knitting Cotton,
Spool Cotton, Cotton Cord,
Linen Spools and Patent Thread,
Sewing Silk, Silk Braid,
Wicking, Wadding, Cotton Laps,
Umbrellas, Oil Cloths, &c., &c.

An assortment of neat Dress Ginghams just received from England.

Loaf, Crushed and Pulverized Sugars,
Coffee crushed or soft erd. do.
Superior Brown do.
do West India Molasses,
do Steam Syrup—
do Teas and Coffees,
Pure Chocolate and Cocoa,
Rice, unadulterated Spices,
Confectionery, Palm Soap,
Castile Soap, Shaving Soap
of Superior quality, a variety of
Plain and Fancy Soaps, &c. &c.

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Address GEO. W. TAYLOR,
N. W. Cor. 5th and Cherry Streets, Philadelphia.

Printed at the Gazette Office, Burlington, N. J.

THE NON-SLAVEHOLDER.

"Whoso gives the motive, makes his brother's sin his own."

VOL. I.—NEW SERIES.]

PHILADELPHIA, TENTH MONTH, 1853.

[No. 10.]

WILLIAM J. ALLINSON, EDITOR.

PUBLISHED MONTHLY

BY GEORGE W. TAYLOR,

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PHILADELPHIA.

Price of one copy, . . . FIFTY CENTS.

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and at the rate of 25 cents per copy for all over eight.
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paid in advance at the delivery post office.

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should be addressed, "Non-Slaveholder, Burlington, N.
J." (the residence of the Editor.)

Passages from our Correspondence.

(Continued from page 34.)

It has been some time since we have afford-
ed space for this department.

A beloved correspondent, in a letter not in-
tended for publication, after speaking of a re-
cent journey, writes as follows :

9 month 19th, 1853.

It took something from the buoyancy of our pleasa-
ble feelings on reaching home, to learn that dear friends,
and you of the number, had been to visit us during our
absence. "Iron sharpeneth iron, so a man sharpeneth the
countenance of his friend." Engaged in a common
moral conflict, with much (even from very friends) to de-
ter us in our up-hill reformatory work, we need this
brightening to make the path of duty joyous. As we jour-
nied onward we sat down to splendidly furnished tables,
where, with the sacrifices made to luxury, were doubt-
less mingled, in the eye of true philosophy, the blood
of our fellow men. Enough remained to us, not so
commixed, for health and enjoyment. When, my
friend, shall the time be, that, rightly regulating "our
daily bread," we shall see a blow struck at Slavery
greater than all declamation, however eloquent, can
wield? It would be painful to believe that, in the in-
crease of the government of the Prince of Peace, that
time shall not arrive, when the products of all violence
done to God's image shall by pure christendom be held
to be forbidden fruits: and it would be difficult to sup-
pose that, in that happier era, their use, when such vio-
lence has the infliction of death as its frequent com-
comitant, will be regarded as much short of the crime
of the Feejee Islander.

We had one morning among our stage companions,
a politician of the "Silver Gray Stripe," who without
being called to it by any remark of others, volunteer-
ed a defence of the Fugitive Slave Law, and the so-
cial and personal duty of enforcing it. This led to
an hour's debate, in which our politician averred that
he would himself drive back to his master "the pant-
ing fugitive" at the point of the bayonet, should occa-

sion require. I remarked that I would pay him the
compliment to disbelieve his assertion. Rather did I
suppose he would imitate "Senator Burr," or, failing
to secure the escape of the fugitive, would say, "come,
neighbors, let us raise a purse, and save this *our bro-
ther* from the wretched doom which awaits him." But
he had to be informed who "Senator Burr" was, and
had yet to read the admirable story of Uncle Tom's
Cabin! Driven by the argument into a close corner,
where a cute down-Easter helped to put him, he
made his escape from the obligations which the higher
law of Heaven imposed, by affirming that all reli-
gion was priestcraft. A sick Clergyman, till then a
silent listener, raised himself from his reclining posi-
tion, and feebly yet earnestly remarked: "Did you
ever see, Sir, a vindicator of Slavery, whose views at
bottom were not tinged by Infidelity?"

Not to inflict our diary on thee,—in returning home-
ward we fell in with a gentleman whose fine person-
al appearance at once prepossessed us in his favor
ere a word had been exchanged with him. * * *

He announced himself as ——— the rescu-
er from a twelve year's Slavery of Solomon Northup,
a free and intelligent colored man, seduced at Sarato-
ga Springs into the temporary employ of two men go-
ing to Washington City, and where, being drugged,
he was put whilst insensible, into a Slave pen, in that
representative city of our nation's glory, and thence
transferred as a slave to the Bayou Boeuf, Louisiana.

Referring me to the published account of Solomon's
capture, bondage and escape—the accuracy of which
he held to be unquestionable, and the interest in reading
which he thought would in my view be next absorbing
to "Mrs. Stowe's work," he gave me an affecting
statement of a visit to a slave pen in Washington City,
and other incidents of Slavery which had come under
his own observation since commencing the work of
effecting Solomon's liberation, confirmatory of all that
is spoken of as evil in the vile system, and involving
in their terrible influences women as fair and beautiful,
and having minds probably as feeling, as any lady in
the saloon of the steam boat then carrying us. The
favorable impression which the narrator had made on
my mind, lost none of its force in his telling me of a
recent visit to the man of Peterboro, and enthusiasti-
cally describing him as one of God's noblemen. On
my arrival at Philadelphia, I had to make, ere pro-
ceeding further homeward, a detour from my direct
course, to get the book spoken of. Having promptly
read it, and with no abatement of the expected inter-
est, I must say to every friend of the Slave, to every
one who for any cause feels an interest in knowing
what Slavery is;—Go, and buy, and read, without de-
lay, the "*Narrative of Solomon Northup, a citizen of
New York, kidnapped in Washington City in 1841,
and rescued in 1853 from a cotton plantation near the
Red river in Louisiana.*"

Another correspondent says :

I have read with exquisite delight the poem now
publishing in successive parts in thy journal: ("An
appeal for the bondwoman") and I feel impelled to
invite to it the especial attention of all lovers of fine
poesy. There are some of the finest chords in the
soul's lyre which are not to be moved by argument,
but will vibrate to such touches as those of E. L. Jr.
And notwithstanding the sentiment of Dr. Johnson,
which thou hast half endorsed, (page 72) that "there

is no necessity for our having poetry at all, it being merely a luxury, an instrument of pleasure," and his deduction that "it can have no value unless when exquisite of its kind;" I conceive that to some minds it is an absolute necessity; a sentiment which has a strong sanction, since so large a portion of the Divinely inspired Scriptures were written in poetry.

It is, perhaps, chiefly in ante-meridian life that such minds are peculiarly accessible through poetic influences, which cannot be spared from the economy of philanthropy. WHITTIER has made many thousands of abolitionists, whose sympathies for the Slave had else remained as dormant and as inaccessible as "the figure in the stone" which a classic writer declares that "the Sculptor only finds."

I have perused,—or rather I have inhaled, with growing interest and zest, the appeals of the authoress to the successive classes of her own sex, till I begin to wish that thou wouldst insert the whole of it at once, and not tantalize us with small portions. Permit me to express my anxiety on one point. It was mentioned in the editorial accompanying Part first, that "it is addressed, in so many sections, to seven distinct classes." Now upon the plan which thou hast so far pursued, of giving one part only in each number, it will overrun the present volume, which I should regret. I am one, I hope, of a large number who intend to bind the N. Slaveholder at the close of the year, as a book for my library, and were there less inducement otherwise, it would be sufficient that the volume contained a complete copy of E. Lloyd's 'APPEAL FOR THE BONDWOMAN TO HER OWN SEX.'

OBERLIN, Sept. 7th, 1853.

I send you nine subscribers for the N. Slaveholder. Prof. G. N. Allen, E. H. Fairchild, Hiram A. Pease, W. Jones, Prof. T. B. Hudson, Hamilton Hill, Uriah Thompson, A. Beacher, Prof. John Morgan. I have not time now to state to you the interest that is felt here on this important movement, but hope to be able ere long. Suffice it to say that the people of Oberlin will not be behind in any reform or movement calculated to remove oppression and to promote the good of our fellow men: and when they see their duty on this subject, I believe they will be willing to do something towards furthering the cause. I hope soon to be able to communicate to you some cheering intelligence in respect to it, together with some more subscriptions.

Yours truly,
R. CRITTENDEN.

So be it. We love Oberlin.

LYNN, MASS., (with eight new subscriptions) "The ball begins to roll."

Thats right. There are no flaws in the ball. It is a true sphere and will roll well.

CLINTON Co. OHIO., (with thirteen subscriptions.) The friends in our little meeting very cordially give encouragement to the work you are engaged in, and some of them have subscribed for the Non-Slaveholder.

WESTMORELAND, N. Y., (with subscriptions.) "I have lent the papers.—No. 5, was particularly interesting. A person to whom it was lent read the piece entitled "Stolen Goods," to a man who professed to be an abolitionist and who thought that he did nothing to uphold Slavery: but on hearing this he said that it was a perfectly new idea. This man thinks that if people were only informed upon this subject, we should soon be able to support a factory.

VASSALBORO, MAINE, "I enclose \$2 00 (postage stamps) for eight copies of N. S."

[Acknowledgements are due for several communications from this place.]

JEFFERSON Co., OHIO.

A valued correspondent writes:

I fully intended sending an occasional article for your valuable paper, but prior engagements have absorbed every moment of my time. I have not how-

ever been an uninterested spectator of your labors, but have during the past year maintained a very extensive correspondence, either on behalf of our Board of Managers on my own account, with the friends of the cause, in reference to the establishment and support of the N. Slaveholder. I have no doubt that its publication is doing good, and I desire your encouragement, hoping the time is not far distant when it may be increased in size, &c., &c.

A friend in Ohio writes.

"There is an increased interest felt in many places, not only among Friends but others respecting the inconsistency of the friends of humanity making use of the products of the slave's unrequited toil. Many elder persons still oppose the Free Labor movement, but among the younger class with us you rarely meet with any one who is not ready to admit the propriety of it, and the obligation to refrain, however inconsistent his practice. * * * We desire to act with great prudence, and due deference to the prejudice of those who are determined not to see, but, at the same time, to clear our own consciences, by keeping the subject, on all proper occasions, distinctly before their view. Have we all done our whole duty in this respect? Have we remembered those in bonds as bound with them? Could we change situations with the poor slave, we could answer all these queries in the negative."

AN APPEAL FOR THE BONDWOMAN,

TO HER OWN SEX.

BY ELIZABETH LLOYD, JR.
(Continued from Page 73.)

PART IV.

WORSHIPPER AT FASHION'S SHRINE!

To that idol-god of thine,
Giving time, and soul, and sense,
What hath been thy recompense?

Lady,—in the minstrel guise
I have looked with searching eyes
On thy seeming paradise.
Thou art dropping secret tears,
Sorrowing o'er wasted years,
Harassed by unnoted cares
Stealing from thee unawares
All thy best of life away,
'Till aweary is thy day—
And thy silent hours confess

All is loss and emptiness!
Thou art haunted in the crowd,
Thou art followed in the dance,
At the revel late and loud,
By a sad accusing glance.

In the brilliant festal hall,
Where thou glidest to and fro,
With a winning word for all,

But a pining heart below,
Music's elevating power—
All that can enthrall the sense,
Fills the place and rules the hour
Vainly—thou art beckoned hence.
Read the mandate to depart
In thy sick unquiet heart,
Chafing now at empty word,
Hollow smile and mean desire,
Like some poor imprisoned bird

Shut within its gilded wire.
 Fashion's cold benumbing creed
 Cannot answer to its need;
 Affie's Palm would sooner grow
 On the soil that feeds the pine,
 O'er a wall of Alpine snow
 Sooner creep the Southern vine,
 Than in Fashion's drifting sand,
 Could thy loving heart take root,
 In her chilling clime expand,
 Or put forth an upward shoot.

Lady! for thy conscience' sake,
 Through a weary thralldom break—
 For the Slave's sake be thou strong!
 She hath watched and waited long,
 In the failing hope to see
 From its thrall thy spirit free.
 Well she knows, that helpless one,
 That her freedom is begun
 Only when thy shackles fall—
 Well she knows it were in vain
 On a pinioned arm to call
 For the loosing of her chain.
 Under God, her trust must be
 In the mind whose strength is free;
 In the lip will fearless speak
 For the trodden down and weak;
 To the heart awake to feel,
 Must be made her sad appeal;
 And her cause must still abide
 With the pen that Truth shall guide.

V.

MOUERNER! on a lonely pathway,
 Where the lights have ceased to shine,
 From a true and warm heart parted,
 Linked in love with thine,—

Living only for the future,
 As thou seekest day by day
 Commune with the white-robed spirit
 God hath called away,—

Hath not Consolation met thee,
 Even at Affliction's door,
 Softened eyes, and words of healing,
 Never known before?

Messengers of Peace surround thee—
 Friendship's grasp is long and kind—
 And His hand thy heart hath broken
 Is outstretched to bind.

Ah, there are—whose tears and partings,
 Touch no cord in Pity's breast;
 Day but brings them toil and anguish,
 Night a fearful rest.

Thy dark seasons come and vanish,
 Christian Faith and Hope between,—
 For the Slave, no bow of promise
 In life's cloud is seen.

Beautiful thy dead lay sleeping,
 Yet with an immortal's trust,

Thou could'st yield to God the spirit
 And the "dust, to dust!"
 Ah, thy wretched sister bendeth
 O'er her dead, a ghastly form,
 With that dread thought of the hopeless,
 Darkness and the worm!

On her dull ear, no glad tidings
 Of a world beyond the grave,
 Where the gates of pearl are open
 Even to the Slave.

No hope on her vigil breaketh,
 That the form so weary here
 May in white and shining raiment
 With the Just appear.

Where, a white stone in her forehead,
 And a new song on her lip,
 Her cup in the sea of crystal
 Evermore may dip.

Sorrow's mission is to draw thee
 Tow'rd Earth's suffering children near,
 And thy spiritual vision
 To enlarge and clear.

In thy heart her hand is sowing
 Seed unknown to outward sight,
 Destined to bear fruit in actions,
 Children of the light.

For the Non-Slaveholder

Friend William J. Allinson—Permit me to make a few remarks by way of rejoinder to the reply of E. L., contained in the 8th number of thy excellent little sheet.

The writer of the strictures on the memorial in question, may not have "sufficiently weighed the matter before him;" as intimated; but after all the explanation which has been given, the plan suggested by the memorial, is not, in my view, relieved of any of its objections. The question is not, whether the abolition of slavery might not be facilitated by the passage of such a law; but is it morally right to do so. If the offer of the common price would not induce slaveholders to liberate their slaves, doubtless some two or three times that amount would: at any rate, the offer might be such as to insure this result. But would our friend admit, that because slavery might be abolished, say by paying ten thousand dollars each for the slaves, that therefore, such payment would be justifiable—would be right? Surely not. Why? Is it because that is too much money to pay for freedom? That is beyond all price. Is it because slaveholders have no right to *so much*? Have they any better right to ten dollars for each slave, than ten thousand? The question then, is not whether this plan would extinguish slavery, but is it a righteous one.

We can have no doubt, that with a corres-

pendent training of the public mind, slavery might be abolished by a resort to violence—to war; but our friend would not advocate *this* plan, because it is practical.

Again, the writer of the reply will surely not claim, that there is any more propriety in paying slaveholders to cease their robbery, than there is in paying the highwayman, the counterfeiter, and the common swindler, to cease their depredations on community, and give up their ill gotten gains; (unless it could be shown that the free states, by their political and commercial intercourse with slaveholders, have injured them pecuniarily; which our friend will not assume, because it is well known that the contrary is the true state of the case, in different instances, to the amount of millions.)

Now, in asking them to do so, “however just our plea, we are practically asking them to make what they at least consider to be a large pecuniary sacrifice; and what would be, under existing circumstances, to many of them an actual sacrifice of nearly all they possess.” Should we then, to save them from being reduced to poverty by their crimes, be so “magnanimous” as to ask a law to remunerate them for all they would lose by becoming honest men? This is just what our friend asks for those who have long practiced the very worst kind of robbery!

Another point. Our friend must know that were he in possession of slaves, it would be his duty to liberate them without remuneration—that he could not do right in any other way. Why then does he advocate that, which in *itself* he is aware is wrong? Evidently, because he “can hardly expect” slaveholders to emancipate without compensation—can hardly expect them to do right. Here is one of the strongest points of objection to the course of our friend. He is well aware that justice and right do not demand compensation to slaveholders: but because they will not do as they should, he advocates that which is in itself unjust, and that because such a plan suits *them* better than an honest one; and because he thinks this is the best that can be done under the circumstances! Wrong in the abstract, but right in the concrete!

Let those whose moral acumen enables them to see no better than to recognize property in man, do it in this way, and abolish slavery if they can; but surely it is the duty of all who have correct principles, to advocate them, and not another set, and that because such principles may be more popular or more palatable. Gradual emancipation has been the plan, by which slavery has as yet been abolished in the United States, and it is probable, is the only one that will succeed; but it is our duty ne-

vertheless, to advocate an *immediate* abandonment of the sin. Whatever others may do, we should maintain the *right*, in word and deed, inflexibly and without compromise or wavering, regardless of any principle of *expediency*, or policy, except that of immutable justice; and let half-way men, adopt half-way means if they will.

W. E.

Spiceland, 8th Mo. 4th, 1853.

For the Non Slaveholder.

PRACTICE versus PROFESSION.

(Continued from page 74.)

Prof. Dost thou mean to say, that the people of the northern states, are slaveholders, notwithstanding they may be opposed to the system and in the constant habit of denouncing it?

Prac. I do; unless they carry their opposition to it further than talking and writing against it. If, with the knowledge that the cotton they wear, and the sugar and rice they eat, are produced by the labor of slaves, and are the main support of slavery, they continue to use those articles so produced, I have no hesitation in classing them as slaveholders, morally considered. Their living outside of the jurisdiction of slavery, does not exonerate them from the responsibility of slavery, if they are maintaining it directly or indirectly. In fact, there is less excuse for the support of it by persons living in free states, when they are not dependent upon slave labor for most of the necessities of life, than for those in the midst of it, who are willing to do what they can to discourage it.

Prof. Thy doctrine is rather severe. I have some objections to make to thy positions. In the first place, thy refusal to buy the products of slavery, looks to me very much like compulsion. I do not think we are required to compel other people to do right.

Prac. As to severity, the truth is always severe against falsehood, and righteousness against unrighteousness. Rumsellers and distillers might make the same complaint against tee-totalers.—*Compulsion*, indeed! What vice is there by which the wicked make merchandize, that the same cry of compulsion might not be raised against those who do not choose to support it?

Prof. But if the products of slave labor could not be sold, not only the masters, but the slaves must starve.

Prac. Not much danger of that, while so many continue to buy the fruit of the slave's toil. The progress of abstinence seems likely to be sufficiently gradual to warn all against the catastrophe, in time for them to change their system of labor. If however, it were possible at once to stop the sale of slave labor pro-

duce, a remedy could immediately be found against starvation. The masters could proclaim liberty to the captive. This would at once open the door for the sale of the otherwise tainted commodities; when both master and slave, in their new relation of employer and employed, could be fed and clothed, and abundantly provided for.

Prof. I look upon the scheme of abstinence from the products of slave labor, as impracticable. How can we do without cotton and sugar? They are both so completely interwoven with our every day wants, and needs, that they may be considered indispensable to our comfort.

Prac. It is always practicable to do right. And I can readily show thee that there is no danger of our being obliged to deny ourselves the use of either cotton or sugar. It is a law of trade, that demand will bring supply. In this case, we are not left in the dark.

GREGORY.

[To be continued.]

THE NON-SLAVEHOLDER.

PHILADELPHIA, TENTH MONTH, 5, 1853.

OHIO FREE PRODUCE ASSOCIATION.—This spirited Society held its annual meeting on the 5th ult. The Report of the Board of Managers, a valuable document, came to hand after this number was made up. It will appear in our next.

OUR BELOVED FRIENDS WILLIAM AND JOSIAH FOSTER, JOHN CANDLER AND WILLIAM HOLMES, arrived by the Steamer Niagara, at Boston, on the 15th ult., where they were met with a cordial welcome by a number of Friends, committees having been appointed by the Meetings for sufferings of New York and New England Yearly Meetings to render them any desired assistance. On reaching Philadelphia, the correspondents of that Yearly Meeting had an interview with them, entering with sympathy into their pious objects.

In prosecuting the christian embassy to which reference was made in our last No. (under the head of literary notices) it will be done purely as a religious concern, without any connection with politics, or any attempt to agitate or to step aside from their direct mission to those in authority. Their errand is one of dignity and great moral beauty, perfectly unimpeachable both in its object and its mode, and we cannot doubt that the officials with whom they communicate, will sustain their national and individual character by receiving them as christian gentlemen.

THE WORLD'S TEMPERANCE CONVENTION.

The various detailed reports of this Convention, have been, so far as we have seen them, singularly inaccurate. One conclusion, however, to which they all point, is a correct one,—that some of the leading men evinced their unfitness for the moral platform. How far it was in taste for Antoinette Brown to claim her rights as a delegate, after a secession Convention had been held because of the understanding that women were to be excluded from this; or how far the case was altered by the assurances of welcome given to her and to her friends, and by the reception of her credentials, without objection, by the chairman of the committee; are questions respecting which wise men may differ, and are thrown into the shade, as considerations unimportant in the contrast, by the shameful conduct of men of education, genius, and high celebrity,—and who, to drive her and her friends from the platform and from the convention, disgraced themselves by rowdiness, vulgarity, and violations of the rights of others, and of the decencies of debate, which might have subjected them to the care of the police in attendance.

We have no room for even a condensed synopsis of the proceedings, but we wish that the Convention had not been held. We left it, with grief of heart that old and valued champions of temperance had almost forfeited their right to rebuke the disorder of the bar-room. We had, however, one high comfort, in knowing that the large majority of the Convention were true, not only to temperance, but to fairness, manliness, honor, and virtuous propriety. We rejoiced to see the decisions of the noble President, our well beloved NEAL DOW, (who, in most trying and painful emergencies, acted sublimely) sustained by a large majority of the Delegates. It will be difficult for those who were not present, to conceive *how well* he acted;—which is cause for thankfulness, since he is so identified with the holy cause of Temperance in its most darling phase, that we could not afford to see him stoop from his sublime position, to the level of Pro-Slavery Rowdiness.

Yes, reader, it was pro-slavery intolerance that invaded the Temperance Convention, and a large portion (if not the whole) of those who there took leave of decency, who joined by fifties and by hundreds, in outcries and hisses, to prevent fairness of discussion, who insulted their presiding officer, (to whom the world owes so large a debt of gratitude) and carried their points by dishonorable tricks,—were pro-slavery men. We speak advisedly, for we were in the midst of the commotion. We heard the whisperings and the pass-words, which revealed the motives of action, and as we mark-

ed these raging waves of the sea, foaming out their own shame, we were deepened in our conviction that the spirit of Slavery is the very antipodes of Republicanism, of honor, and of all that is lovely and of good report.

But let us not be discouraged from using all diligence in working for the passage of the Prohibitory Liquor Law in our several states. The evils of intemperance are far beyond the power of language to describe—the License System is an outrage upon humanity, and upon common sense. It is time for THE PEOPLE to make known their determination that the sale of rum as beverage shall not be *restricted* but PROHIBITED.

It is impracticable for us, consistent with the design of our publication, to present our readers with a summary of anti-slavery news, or even to give a statement of all the startling occurrences. Several atrocious rendition cases have occurred since our last issue, for which we are unable to make room. Owing to a mistake of our compositor, a considerable amount of editorial matter is crowded out, and with some disappointment we find the present number quite different from what we intended.

A DISCLAIMER.—In our last No. page 76, in an article copied from the Nat. Era, occurs the following passage.

"The gentleman from McHenry was as a sheep before his shearer—dumb—so he opened not his mouth."

Had we particularly noticed this sentence, we should have omitted it, and we now allude to it for the purpose of saying that we would not willingly sanction a flippant jesting use of Scripture quotations, particularly when they properly refer to HIM, who for our sakes became "a man of sorrows and acquainted with grief."

LITERARY NOTICES.

NARRATIVE OF A RECENT VISIT TO BRAZIL, by John Candler and Wilson Burgess: to present an address on the Slave Trade and Slavery, issued by the religious Society of Friends.

We are gratified with the interest which has been manifested in the notice and extracts from this work which we commenced in our last No., and which we now resume, without fearing that our readers will object to the occupancy of so large a proportion of our small sheet.

To appreciate the movements of our travellers, and their sphere of labor, it may be well to state that Brazil, (or *The Brazils*) comprises many large provinces, separate in jurisdiction, each having its local legislature and a Governor, styled President, appointed by the Crown. It is a constitutional monarchy, work-

ing to the general content of the free inhabitants, contrasting, in peace and tranquility, with "all the republics of North and South America which have separated from Spain." It occupies nearly half of South America, the extreme length and greatest breadth being each about 2200 miles. Were its population of about six millions equally spread over the land, "it would be difficult," says the pamphlet before us, "to trace the inhabitants: the habitation of every single family would be distant about three miles every way from its nearest neighbor: the land would be a solitude."

We give their account of their reception by the Archbishop of Bahia—

We had visited the Archbishop in the hope of inducing him still more intently to dwell on the wrongs of this unchristian system, and still more boldly to denounce them: and, in pursuance of our mission, we ventured also to call on other persons of influence. Attended by our friend, the American Consul, from whom we received many kind attentions, we paid a visit to one of the Judges of the province, and his son, who resides with him, and who is a representative to the Provincial Chamber of Deputies. Whilst we were conversing with the father,—a man of intelligence, and an ardent friend of public liberty,—the son, who sat near the window, was attentively reading our Address, a copy of which we had put into his hands. When he had finished it, he came up to us and said, in a serious manner, and with apparent emotion, "These are the true principles;" and before we left he said to the Consul, "I will make this mission known in the Journals." The reading of this Address had made a deep impression on his mind, of which we soon had a full proof, as, in a day or two after, a paragraph from his own pen appeared in one of the daily newspapers of the city, which we here copy. We place it on record, not because it speaks flatteringly of ourselves, for we deserve no encomium, but because it does homage to a principle, and shows to a slavery-loving community, that if they mean to be Christian, they must be just. The newspaper has for its motto, "Order, Liberty, Constitutional Rights, Material and Moral Progress."

"There are now in this city two members of the Society of Friends, of Great Britain, who are come from Rio de Janeiro, and who, during their brief stay in the capital, have been collecting information on all the questions which bear on Brazilian slavery. Messrs. John Candler and Wilson Burgess have paid their compliments to His Imperial Majesty, and have presented to him, in the name of the Society which they represent, a Memorial, in which are unfolded the bitter fruits of slavery, and principles of the purest religion and the most eternal truth. These gentlemen, who have left their country, their families and the comforts of their home, thus to peregrinate, have lifted up a sublime and disinterested banner, and certainly deserve the thanks and benedictions of the whole community. Most earnestly do we pray that the seed they scatter in their travels on the ground we tread upon, may spring up in a day to come, and that, visited by the benign breezes of the Gospel, it may grow up into flourishing and fruit-bearing trees."

Not only was our visit thus kindly announced and spoken of, but we had the gratification to find that through the solicitation of our Consul at Bahia, the whole Address was published in the daily official journal, which has a wide circulation in the city and province. We were the more anxious to procure the insertion of this Christian Address in the newspapers of Bahia, inasmuch as that city was the chief seat and emporium of the African slave-trade, which had lately flourished here in all its vigour. Every possible influ-

ence had been used to extend it. Young boys and clerks in the warehouses were induced to invest all the moneys they could save or procure, in these infamous speculations, and were thus all interested more or less in the success of the slave merchant; they looked out with anxiety for the arrival of each successive slaver on the coast, and watched, with intense interest, the lighting up of the distant bonfires on the islands and along the coast, that signalized to them the important fact, that the slaves were landed and sold.

Keeping steadily in view their Christian mission, they appeared to have been "fervent in spirit,—not slothful in business." They obtained a free interview with the President of the province (Bahia) who was very courteous. Permission was granted them to visit the prisons and other public buildings, but their time only admitted of a visit to the State Prison of Bahia.

On our presenting to the chief jailor the order to admit us, he called out a file of musqueteers, with fixed bayonets, to attend us. At first we wondered at this strange precaution; but our surprise ceased when the doors of the prison were unlocked—heavy massive doors, that required strong arms to open them—and we were introduced into one long vaulted chamber, with iron gratings for air and light, and found ourselves in the midst of a band of murderers! The inmates in this part of the prison were forty in number, most of whom had committed murder, and were incarcerated for life, or for a limited term of years. Here, confined in a long narrow dungeon, with nothing to do, they frequently quarrel, and sometimes fight. The laws of Brazil, or rather, perhaps, the feelings of the people, are opposed to capital punishment, even for the worst of crimes, so that executions seldom take place. What there is of good in this, and we cannot but commend the feeling that leads to it, should now be directed to some humane secondary punishment, which, whilst from its severity it may deter others from guilt, may conduce at the same time to the reformation of the guilty. It was a sad spectacle that we witnessed; the poor wretched men fell back and ranged themselves in a long row; we saw their ferocious looking faces, and would gladly have addressed them, but their tongue was an unknown one to us, and we could only give them a sorrowing look, and our silent sympathy. The other parts of the prison were less revolting.

We had just left the great gate, when we were called back to converse with a prisoner at the lodge. He was a genteel good-looking man, and addressed us in excellent French. He supposed we were the gentlemen who had come to present an Address to the authorities in Brazil on the subject of slavery. We told him we were, and asked him if he had seen it. Yes, he said, and had read it and approved it; we had taken right ground; slavery was an unchristian institution; but if we thought, by good words, to put it down in Brazil, we should find ourselves greatly mistaken. Our principles were pure, but the moneyed interests of the nation offered too much resistance; the shock, on collision, would be too great; we could never make way in a contest so unequal. This individual was an Italian by birth, imprisoned for insolvency and fraud. We had higher faith in the ultimate prevalence of Christian principle in the world than he seemed to think any man ought to have.

They visited many towns upon the coast, and to an extent inland of near 100 miles they had some opportunity both of seeing the country and of leaving copies of their document with institutions, and with distinguished intelligent and influential persons. An inland tour among the sugar plantations is narrated with

much interesting description. But the beauty of scenery and the frank hospitality extended to them, were shaded by continual evidences of the glaring wrong of slavery, and the gloom upon the faces of the prædial slaves, even where most humanely treated. At one princely estate,

The good lady of the household told us that when she came out from Europe, as a young wife, to take charge of the family and female slaves, her heart sank within her at the sickening sights she saw and the tales she heard; but that custom, and the seeming impossibility of working out a change, had in a degree reconciled her to the evils of the sad system.

In the Sugar and Tobacco producing country they were assured that there was no natural increase, but an annual diminution of the number of slaves, and the reason given them was,—“because the slave mothers feel no interest in rearing their children to slavery: they neglect them in infancy, and the mortality is great.”

Some extracts are given from the correspondence of Henry A. Cooper, Consul at Pernambuco, who mentions being “eye witness to an unfortunate slave cutting his throat at a dinner table at which I was present; and that invitations were issued in this province, by a proprietor, to witness the boiling alive of a slave in the cauldron of his estate!” He asserts that rural slaves “have only four hours of actual sleep.” In an official despatch he writes:

“I defy anyone who has visited a Brazilian *engenho*, to deny the miserable, overworked, enfeebled, idiotic, I had almost said, inhuman, appearance of the slaves.” “I have visited forty or fifty of these *engenhos*, and I never saw a slave laugh; but I have seen them sleep over their work; they are ill fed, and are generally treated without feeling or consideration.” In addition to this lamentable description, he observed to us, that he had never seen a slave on a sugar plantation laugh!

The sugar statistics given are interesting and important, shewing that a very small increase in the price of Brazilian sugar, gives a fearful stimulus to the horrible traffic in slaves: that the opening of the British ports to slave grown sugar immediately gave them a better market in England, and a small increase in price everywhere; and also opened a reasonable prospect of annually increasing trade. This induced Brazilian and Cuban planters to use all their energies in bringing fresh land into cultivation, and gave, of course, new vigor to the slave trade. As the British planters could not resort to the latter means, they were placed at disadvantage, and the cause of human liberty received a blow. In a 1846 a bill was passed in England, removing the distinction which had existed between free and slave grown sugars, and admitting them at all reduced rates of duty. The fatal consequences were foreseen, and faithfully pointed out, by English Friends, and by many other philanthropists. Had Great Britain, acting upon the fine idea which

forms the motto of the Non-Slaveholder, continued to place upon slave-grown sugars an exclusive duty, Brazil had ere this, in all probability, abolished slavery. Our friends Chandler and Burgess, alluding to this bill, say :

Greatly was the traffic augmented. The number of Africans landed in Brazil, so far as can be ascertained, amounted in the four years from 1842 to 1845, both inclusive, to 78,830. In the four years from 1846 to 1849, it rose to the awful number of 220,496. Here was an increase in this very short period, of 141,666 captives landed alive on the Brazilian shore; and if we take into calculation, according to Sir T. F. Buxton's estimate, the number of persons slain in Africa to procure these victims, and of those who die on the middle passage, we multiply them hreifold, and find the dreadful amount of more than 400,000 human beings, living and dead, sacrificed in four years to Mammon! Friends as we are to the principles of free trade, we think we have a right to ask, how that commerce can be called free which leads, as a consequence, to such enormities as these, and conduces to the continuance of them?

A prolonged and satisfactory interview with the President of the Province of Pernambuco, in which (whilst he strove to keep slavery out of view, and to confine attention to the trade in slaves) they were most politely treated, resulted in the following letter to the Consul:

"Most illustrious Senhor, Henry Cowper.

"I request your Lordship to make known for me to Messrs. John Chandler and Wilson Burgess, members of the religious Society of Great Britain and Ireland, called Friends, how pleasing to me was the visit which I received from them in your Lordship's company on the 11th instant, and how much I appreciate it; thanking them for their attention, and at the same time for the two copies, in English and Portuguese, of the Address made in the name of the Society on the subject of the illicit traffic from the African coast, and its consequences, offered to the Governments of all Christian nations. And moreover, that I was highly gratified at being told by your Lordship, that they came on a mission from the Society, to congratulate his Majesty the Emperor upon the measures adopted by his Government for the extinction of the traffic, and especially for the desire and determined resolution which he himself feels upon so important a subject. May they return and arrive in peace, to their own country and Society! In the mean time, while they remain here, they may calculate upon all the aid which this Government can afford.

"I renew to your Lordship the assurance of my particular esteem and consideration.

"I am your Lordship's

"Most obedient Servant,

"FRANCESCO ANTONIO RIBERIA."

They witnessed, early one morning, the entrance into Pernambuco of 6000 horses carrying bags of sugar and bales of cotton on their backs, and so thronging the streets that it was difficult for passengers to force their way. This gives some idea of the traffic with the interior. At Madeira, on their homeward voyage, they had to perform a quarantine, and the government officer sending a launch to convey the whole company to the health station, an officer in the American Navy gave occasion for a smile at the expense of republican character.

"He put on his uniform, girded on his sword, came on deck, and declared that nothing should

induce him to go ashore in the same boat with dirty coal-heavers: unless he could have a boat to himself, he would go on to Lisbon, or even to England: his bluster prevailed, and a private boat was despatched to convey him: he vindicated, he thought, the honor of a great nation, and descended and took his seat with much self-complacency. Americans can justify equality at home, but love distinctions abroad."

Our beloved friends appear to have performed their important mission most faithfully; and in a feeling of thankfulness for their preservation, amid many dangers encountered for the purpose of sowing good seed, we feel that we may safely leave the result to Him who giveth increase, well assured that labors, thus undertaken and honestly pursued in the Divine fear and counsel, "are not in vain in the Lord."

We finish this notice with their own concluding paragraph.

If in preparing the Narrative we have not spoken so strongly, as some may think we should have done, on the evils of slavery, it must be remembered that our object has been to record what we saw and observed, rather than what we had heard, or read. A stranger passing hastily through a foreign country is seldom able, from his own personal observation, to lay bare the state of society and exhibit it with correctness to others. This applies with peculiar emphasis to slavery, as an institution, whose hideous and revolting workings are often in secret, and carefully concealed from the eye of those who are known to be engaged in searching them out with a view to public exposure. Were we disposed to lengthen this Narrative, we could fill many pages with the horrors of Brazilian slavery, as exhibited in the reports, from year to year, of our Ambassadors and Consuls residing in that country, and from other accredited and recent sources, but we forbear. It is enough to know and to say that slavery is bad in Brazil, and in every country where it is tolerated, and that it is our duty, as professing Christians to join hand and heart in every Christian endeavor to sweep it from the world.

AMERICAN COTTAGE LIFE.—*A series of Poems illustrative of American Scenery, &c. &c.* By Thomas C. Upham. *Third edition.* Upham is a name already dear to those who love goodness. We give as a sample the following Sonnet.

CHRISTIAN BENEVOLENCE.

By THOMAS C. UPHAM.

Luke x. 36, 37.

Who is my BROTHER? 'tis not merely he,
Who hung upon the same loved mother's breast;
But every one, whoever he may be,
On whom the image of a man's impress,
True Christian sympathy was ne'er designed
To be shut up within a narrow bound;
But sweeps abroad, and in its search to find
Objects of mercy, goes the whole world around.
'Tis like the sun, rejoicing east and west,
Or beautiful rainbow, bright from south to north;
It has an angel's pinion, mounting forth
O'er rocks, and hills, and seas, to make men blest.
No matter what their color, name, or place,
It blesses all alike,—the universal race.

THE NON-SLAVEHOLDER.

"Whoso gives the motive, makes his brother's sin his own."

VOL. I.—NEW SERIES.]

PHILADELPHIA, ELEVENTH MONTH, 1853.

[No. 11.]

WILLIAM J. ALLINSON, EDITOR.

PUBLISHED MONTHLY

BY GEORGE W. TAYLOR,

North West Corner of Fifth and Cherry Streets,

PHILADELPHIA.

Price of one copy, ... FIFTY CENTS.

" of three copies, ... ONE DOLLAR.

" or of eight copies, ... TWO DOLLARS,

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and at the rate of 25 cents per copy for all over eight. When gold or postage stamps can be remitted it will save the loss on bank notes which are here under par.

Postage on this paper only 6 cents per annum, it paid in advance at the delivery post office.

All subscriptions and business letters to be sent to the Publisher, in Philadelphia.

Exchange papers and communications for insertion should be addressed, "Non-Slaveholder, Burlington, N. J." (the residence of the Editor.)

OHIO FREE PRODUCE ASSOCIATION.

At the annual meeting of the Free Produce Association of Friends of Ohio Yearly Meeting, held at Short Creek meeting-house, on 2d day afternoon, the 5th of 9th mo. 1853.

The minutes of the last annual meeting, together with those of the Board of Managers, and the Annual Report, were read and approved; and the Board of Managers were directed to forward the report, and a notice of such parts of the proceedings of the meeting as they deemed proper, to the Non-Slaveholder and Friends' Review, for publication.

The committees of correspondence appointed last year, within the limits of the different Quarterly meetings, were continued, and they were encouraged to open free subscriptions in their respective neighborhoods, for the purpose of carrying on the free-labor movement, and were specially requested to endeavor to extend the circulation of the Non-Slaveholder, as a means of awakening a greater interest in the concern.

ANNUAL REPORT.

The Board of Managers of the Free Produce Association of Friends of Ohio Yearly Meeting, in presenting their Fourth Annual Report, acknowledge that the success of our efforts, and the advancement of the cause in which we are engaged, depend upon the goodness of God, to whom we should earnestly look for wisdom and guidance in all our efforts.

From the reading of our minutes, it will be

seen that we have met monthly. We have endeavored to keep the importance of the Free Labor subject prominently in view, in the way that seemed best calculated to promote the advancement of our testimony against slavery, which is incomplete without an abstinence from the use of its products.

It will also be seen, that we have in accordance with your recommendation of last year, labored much, in connection with others, for the establishment and support of a Periodical, devoted specially to the advocacy of the Free Labor question; and we are pleased to inform the Association of the resuscitation of the Non-Slaveholder, under the charge of our friends William J. Allinson, as Editor, and George W. Taylor, as publisher.

This paper has already obtained a very respectable circulation, and we fully believe is contributing much towards the advancement of a faithful and consistent testimony against slavery; yet we would here particularly recommend to the members of the Association individually, and to the friends of the cause generally, the necessity of using their influence and exertions to give it a still wider circulation.

As the only periodical in our country, established expressly for the purpose of diffusing light upon the Free Produce question, and advocating the consistency and necessity of an abstinence from the use of the products of slavery, the friends of the cause should see that it does not languish for want of support and encouragement.

Upon the other side of the Atlantic, the little periodical sheet entitled, "The Slave, his wrongs and their remedy," is still, we believe, effecting a very salutary influence in favor of the cause it so earnestly advocates.

We are much encouraged by the appearance during the past year, in the "Friends' Review," of several excellent articles on the subject, and also by the appearance, occasionally, of articles on the free-labor movement, in several papers within our own state, among which we would mention the "Herald of Freedom," published at Wilmington, Clinton county: "The Columbian," of Columbus;* and the "Oberlin Evangelist," at Oberlin Institute, Lorain county. As an exponent of the views

*We would add "The Christian Press"—Cincinnati.—Ed.

of the Professors and other officers of the extensive institution of learning at that place, we are gratified with the position lately assumed by the last mentioned periodical, on the Free Labor movement. From communications recently received from thence, we are happy to believe that the obligation to abstain from the encouragement of slave-labor, has taken a deep and abiding hold of the minds of many of the students and citizens, and is recognized by nearly all as of binding force. The increasing interest in the subject, is expected to result in the establishment among them, of one or more Free Labor stores, the business of which will be confined exclusively to the sale of goods uncontaminated by slavery.

We believe that persons in this country generally, except where too directly connected with the system of slavery by commerce, are more and more appreciating the consistency and justice of non-participation in slavery by the disuse of its products.

This we are happy to see manifesting itself in the action of almost every religious or ecclesiastical assemblage of whatever denomination, in which any pretensions to feeling on the subject finds admittance. But a short time since, and even those who were admitted as the devoted friends of the oppressed, appeared unable to see the necessity of refraining from the use of the products of slavery, or the bearing it would have upon the great question of the abolition of slavery; but such, we are most happy to state, is no longer the case. Instead of a total silence with regard to the use of slave-goods, resolutions are constantly being adopted, in conventions and associations, of the character above referred to, declaratory, not only of the incompleteness of the testimony against slavery without this necessary accompaniment, but the moral obligation to refrain from slave-grown products, and its direct tendency to destroy the system.

Even slave-holders themselves are found, both publicly and privately acknowledging the consistency, and direct bearing of this testimony, on the overthrow of slavery, and are charging home upon us the utter inconsistency and contradiction of professing or preaching opposition to the system, whilst we indulge in the unrestrained use of the products.

Indeed, it appears almost impossible that any one who can see any connection between making and vending, and using spirituous liquors, and drunkenness, should not also be able to see the connection between using the proceeds of slavery, and slavery itself. It is too plain to be longer called in question, that slaves are held in servitude, and compelled to severe and whip-extorted toil, for the

sake of the money to be obtained by the sale of the products of their unrequited labor, and hence, that the atrocities of the system, are justly chargeable, in part at least, on the venders and users of those products, as well as upon the slave owners.

In our own society, and particularly in the western country, we believe there is a decided progress in this testimony; and Friends are feeling more confidence in the probable good results of the labors in this particular branch of the anti-slavery enterprise. Many are glad to avail themselves of the opportunity afforded by the establishment of Free-labor stores, to supply their wants, without support to a system we all *abhor*. The fact that all necessary wants can be supplied, by the successful efforts in different places, to establish and sustain these stores, is cause of satisfaction and rejoicing to those who have a wish to separate themselves from all traffic in the toil of slaves. Let those who are not accommodated with a varied and general supply of Free Labor goods, be encouraged to submit to some privations, in order that they may maintain a decided opposition, in practice as well as word, to the robbery and wrong which the oppressor perpetrates.

We should let the memory of the sufferings endured by the victims of oppression, be so interwoven with the lines of our lives that we shall be disposed to embrace every suitable opportunity to speak and act for their good. Let us not allow that we are doing enough in giving up the use of the luxuries, and are supplying ourselves with what we deem necessities from the products of the slaves toil; or too readily pardon ourselves for the committal of a wrong against our brothers and sisters, which is no less a wrong to them because inducements to perpetrate it appear to be on excusable ground.

Shall all the sad array of weary wasting human forms, and wronged and stricken hearts, still fail to find relief? Must years of toil yet mark the lives of Afric's sons, and all the evils that are "nourished up into rank, vigorous growth in the soil of slavery," remain undisturbed, whilst the powers, the entrusted powers of freemen are either unemployed, or exercised upon subjects unworthy of regard, when compared with the cause of human rights and human liberty? When a feeling averse to self-denial is indulged, with a knowledge that this same indulgence to ourselves places others in conditions of suffering and degradation, it is presented in a form of selfishness and inconsiderateness altogether uncomely in the remembrance of our own unworthiness of the least of the favors we enjoy, and under the

influence of wide benevolence of feeling, there must be not only a willingness, but a decided inclination to submit to whatever restraints or efforts may have a tendency to the benefit of any class of sufferers.

Since, in a world like this, it is a first principle of christianity to forget ourselves and our own happiness, in order that we may do good to others, let us lay aside considerations of individual comforts and pleasures, when they interfere with our duty to our less favored brethren and sisters, of whatever color or name.

GEO. K. JENKINS, *Secretary.*

AN APPEAL FOR THE BONDWOMAN,

TO HER OWN SEX.

BY ELIZABETH LLOYD, JR.

PART VI.

CUNNING PLAYER ON THE LYRE!

Priestess to the sacred fire
Through all time alive and holy,—
Be thou of the great, or lowly,
By the freedom thy soul loveth
When through Fancy's realms it rovethe,
Flinging off the curb and rein
Put upon its speed in vain,—
By thy power of turning in,
When the world is waste and cold,
Weary of its dust and din,
Unto treasures more than gold,—
By the blessed joy of knowing
Thou hast strength within thee hidden,
Spiritual fountains flowing,
None may check or chill unbidden,—
Grateful for a precious trust,
Use it for the trembling Slave—
Woman, trampled in the dust,
Wake thy noblest strain to save!
By thy lofty hope of dwelling
Where the faithful only go,
On thy ear the pean swelling
Mortal never heard below,—
By thy Poet's trust of bearing
Branch of palm and harp of gold,
Sing for her—for day is wearing,
And thy hours will soon be told.

That helpless one hath earnest need
Of many lips her cause to plead.
Oh! not upon his head alone,
Who claims our Father's as his own,
Belongs the misery and sin
Her living soul is buried in:
By all the chains that mar and bind
The freedom of our common mind,
We make for her a starless sky—
We dim with tears her failing eye—
We lengthen out her day of toil,
And leave her for a prey and spoil.
Our bonds must one by one be broken—
And a language each will know,

Must to many hearts be spoken,
'Ere we let the Captive go.

There are soldiers for the field,
Girded with Truth's sword and shield,
Aiming still at Justice' foe
Bloodless thrust and stunning blow:
But to thee, thou child of song,
Other tasks than these belong;
Not of them should'st thou be found—

For the work thou hast to do,
Seek not on the battle-ground,
But, to thine own calling true,
Plead with such as coldly stay
From the conflict far away.

As the Harper sought of old
Isolated castle-hold,
Poor man's hearth, and chieftan's hall,
Welcome by his gifts to all;
In the palace, in the cot,
Beating time to every lot,
So would'st thou an entrance find
Into castellated mind;
Lowly heart would let thee in,
And the proud unconquer'd soul
No rude touch could melt or win,
Might bow down to thy control.

If he moved the stern and cold
By some old "heroic strain,"
Daring youth and manhood bold—
Will thy harp be touched in vain?
Tell the Bondwoman's sad story—
And the spirits he could wake
To a love of strife and glory,
As they listen, down shall take
From the touched heart's castle wall,
Garnished by the God of all
Weapons for the Captive's sake!
(Concluded in next No.)

PRACTICE vs. PROFESSION.

Continued from Page 85.

Prof. How can we know the articles that are free from the taint of Slave-labor, if we must so brand them? Sugar for instance. What is there about the appearance of free labor sugar by which we may recognize it?

Prac. Though we may not be able to distinguish the free-labor sugar by any peculiar characteristic of the article, we need not be so ignorant in this day of the general diffusion of intelligence, as not to know that, through the blessing of Providence on the efforts of philanthropists, there are some tropical regions where the demon of slavery cannot set his foot any longer. Abundant supplies of sugar, molasses, rice, and various other tropical products can be obtained, and are obtained from those islands and countries.

Prof. But we cannot all be importing merchants; and how may we be assured that the

articles we purchase are really from those places?

Prac. "Look ye out among you men of honest report, &c., whom we may appoint over this business." Let the business of procuring be entrusted to those who have a conscience in these matters. Establish, and *maintain*, a central warehouse where no slave-labor goods shall be sold. Let the management of this concern be confided to one or more persons of acknowledged ability, and having a general comprehension of what is to be done; that every needful guard may be set, and no imposition practiced. This done, let those in every neighborhood who desire to use the products of requited toil, either unite their orders for obtaining supplies from the central depot, when they are too remote to obtain them individually, or make their custom at their neighboring stores, conditional on *their* supplies being obtained from this source, so far as is necessary to furnish the free-labor consumption.

Prof. This may prove satisfactory so far as groceries are concerned. But where is a sufficient supply of free-labor cotton to come from?

Prac. It has been found by inquiry in the southwestern states, that there are many planters of small means, who neither own slaves nor employ them. They nevertheless, manage to raise by their own hands and the aid of their families, a few bales of cotton, which it is to their interest to put up in nice order. In various parts of Mississippi, Tennessee, Alabama, Texas, and Arkansas, there are numbers of planters thus circumstanced, who live in associated neighborhoods, rendering it practicable and customary to have their cotton ginned without the aid of slave-labor. This cotton can be purchased at the market prices for cash, and the parties raising it are willing to give certificates that they neither own slaves nor hire them, and that the cotton they furnish has been raised and handled entirely by white people.—(*To be Continued.*) GREGORY.

For the Non-Slaveholder.

COMPENSATION TO THE SLAVEHOLDER.

If what is criminal in Slavery rested solely upon the personal holders of the Slave, and none on those who give the essential stimulus to the system, and who gather to themselves wealth and comfort out of it, there would be much force in the objection of W. E. to any national relief to the Slaveholder in compensation to him for the emancipation of his Slaves; but it so happens that the whole nation is "particeps criminis" in this matter. The question then arises—shall the enriched nation disgorge none of its ill-gotten gains to relieve the impoverished emancipator on the plea that doing so

would recognize "property in man;"—or would it not rather deny that claim of "property," by applying a part of its "unrighteous mammon" to the relief of those who, in the winding up of the cruel evil are the only sufferers among the more numerous offenders, yet have with them an equal right, whatever worth, to that mammon?

"Honor among thieves," is an adage which seems to have some appropriateness in this case; and I suggest to W. E. a re-consideration of his views in the light of it. P. L. A.

REDEMPTION OF SLAVES BY PURCHASE.

I find in the 10th number of the Non-Slaveholder, some observations on a note which I addressed to the Editor, and which he inserted in the 8th number, relative to the redemption by purchase, of the slaves whom the people or legislature of any slave-holding state may agree to emancipate, on condition of being paid what may be deemed a moderate valuation. There can certainly no arguments be required to convince me, or those of similar sentiments, of the intrinsic injustice of slavery; or of the total nullity of the claims advanced by slaveholders, to the persons and services of their slaves. To the arguments of W. E. to prove the moral obligation which rests on the possessors of slaves to grant their immediate and unqualified emancipation, I can cordially assent. The only question between us seems to be whether we are bound to depend exclusively on the justice of our plea, or whether we may not properly, and with due regard to the principles of universal righteousness, share in the sacrifice necessary to secure a boon which we all agree is unquestionably due to the colored race.

Perhaps a fact may illustrate my view on the subject. Nearly fifty years ago, I was informed early one morning, that a black man residing in the neighborhood, had been seized as a fugitive slave. Now it had happened that this man told me, some time before, that he had escaped from slavery, and requested that I would negotiate a purchase of his freedom. I quickly set out with one of my neighbors in search of the party; and upon finding them, my knowledge of the slavery of the prisoner, did not restrain me from insisting upon the most rigorous proof on the part of the claimant, who then had him in his possession. But the proof appeared overpowering, and no defect in the legal proceeding afforded us any opportunity to release the prisoner by civil process. We were therefore reduced to the alternative of abandoning the poor victim of an unrighteous law, to the mercy of a master, who did not seem to be overcharged with humanity, or of trying what could be done by

way of purchase. Did we by adopting the latter expedient give our sanction to the master's claim? I tried the effect of moral reasoning on the subject, and was answered by a derisive laugh. In trying a negotiation, we felt no scruple in screwing the master down to the lowest price we could attain; but after a good deal of chaffering, a practice to which I was not much accustomed, having arrived, as we supposed, at a minimum price, we paid for the man, on the spot, and set him instantly free.

Perhaps our sympathies operated upon our judgment, but during the time which has elapsed since the transaction, I have never repented of the part which I took in the case.

If now the people of the free states would voluntarily assent to the extension, to one or two states, a single one if they please, of the same principle of action which a few of my neighbors and myself, applied to an individual case, an object would be attained which we all desire to see effected. If the free states or the United States, should agree to purchase, upon what would be deemed moderate terms, (the lower the better, so that the purchase was effected) of all the slaves in Delaware, and restore them to the rights of men, it appears to me that no new principle of action would be adopted. The practice has long and extensively prevailed, of contributing to the purchase of slaves in cases of unusual hardship, not as an acknowledgment of any right in the possessor but as the only method which the laws and usages of our country have left within our power. If we can without encroachment on moral rectitude, promote by purchase, the emancipation of individual slaves when their circumstances are calculated to rouse our sympathy to its greatest intensity, what is the difference, except in our own sympathetic feeling, between cases of the kind alluded to, and those ordinary ones, which we know prevail in all slave-holding communities. E. L.

THE NON-SLAVEHOLDER.

PHILADELPHIA, ELEVENTH MONTH, 2, 1853.

A MOUTHFUL OF TALK TO OUR SUBSCRIBERS.

We are near the end of our first volume, and, as the reasons which induced us to commence it continue to operate, it is our prospect (Providence permitting,) to continue our task. We have therefore a few words to say to all our subscribers, and to all our readers, (from among whom we hope for additional subscribers,)—"To all, to whom these presents may come, greeting."

It is desirable that the names of subscribers should be forwarded to the publication office, by the first of 12th month, or as soon as prac-

ticable thereafter, that we may know how large an edition will be needed.

As the interest in the Free Produce cause has considerably advanced within the past year, and as the Non-Slaveholder is believed to have contributed towards this result, it is not unreasonable that we should ask of our friends a continuation and an increase of zeal in extending its circulation. As it was not undertaken for pecuniary profit, it has so far been conducted at a pecuniary sacrifice. Several efficient and true hearted friends of the enterprise have, by extensive, and doubtless arduous correspondence, done much to enlarge the subscription list, and to them, for the cause sake, our acknowledgments are due: yet we feel no diffidence in asking a continuance of their zeal, since our own labor, for the same object, has been much greater, and at much greater cost. The mere effort of writing editorials and making selections, is small and light compared with the incidental claims and cares, the vexations and disappointments, which only an Editor can appreciate or imagine. We endeavor to "take things by their smooth handle," yet if we talk from this platform another year, we wish to be assured of an enlarged audience, and to feel that we are not toiling in vain.

Our terms will be the same. Fifty cents for one subscriber:—One dollar for three; Two dollars for eight. *Always in advance.*

There are many hundreds from whom we have not yet heard, to whom we are certain that the journal would be worth its cost. There are very many who would actually be better off in their spiritual circumstances for paying the almost nominal price of eight copies, and giving them away.

We are disposed to be about as modest as the occasion requires, at the same time sufficiently explicit. We would like to have as many subscribers as we can obtain; and we intend to please them, if their tastes, judgment and principles coincide with our own.

We are still able to supply complete sets of the present volume, (although we are likely to run short of No. 3—if any have duplicates of that No. we would be glad to receive them) and we advise new subscribers to order the back numbers and to file or bind them for preservation and future reference. We shall furnish with No. 12, (or as soon after as possible) a title page and table of Contents.

EDITORIAL JUSTICE.—We have noticed with some surprise the transfer of sundry essays which were written for the Non-Slaveholder to the columns of other periodicals without any credit. From our ninth number the following articles were thus appropriated. "Al-

ways rejoicing:"—"A Testament for Slave-land circulation:"—and the dialogue "Practice *versus* Profession." We feel sure that at least the cases we have specified must be attributed to inadvertence. An attention to usual etiquette in this matter is due on the score of Justice. An Editor is at liberty to enrich his Journal from the pages of another, on condition that he make known to whom he is indebted, and thus bring the periodical from which he copies, to the knowledge of perhaps a new class of readers, some of whom may become subscribers. This act of Justice we have carefully observed towards the papers whose conductors have forgotten to reciprocate it.

THE WILKSBARRE SLAVE CASE—SLAVE CHASERS ARRESTED—JUDGE GRIER SOILS THE ERMINE.—This case is well known to the reading public, and we need not tell of the violence committed upon the poor fugitive, nor harrow afresh the feelings of our readers by depicting his desperate flight, whilst his base and blood thirsty hunters pursued him with fire-arms, seeking to take his life. We need not describe his desperate resort to the water, with a fixed determination to put away his life rather than lose his liberty.

The deputy slave catchers were subsequently arrested for riot and assault and battery with intent to kill. Judge Grier granted a writ of habeas corpus, and the High Constable and his prisoners were brought before him, and the case finally dismissed. The conduct of Judge Grier has been so at variance with Judicial decency, that plain citizens who do not pretend to accurate legal knowledge, feel no confidence that the law has been honestly illustrated and applied by him. They perceive, throughout his course, that he is the partizan of the Slave catchers.—They perceive that his "opinion," is full of special pleading,—that after refusing to hear the testimony, he mis-states and perverts the facts of the case. They think that they can see that he was, like Tom Moore's lawyer,

"Born with a taste for the unfair,"—and they inquire among themselves; "Is there no way for Judge Grier to be impeached?"

We heartily rejoice in the escape of the fugitive. It would have been peculiarly a hard case, had he been captured, after such amazing efforts to escape. We wish no harm to Judge Grier.—We think him a great sinner, and we desire his repentance, amendment and salvation. But we have been thinking that as Keith of Virginia had precisely equal right to the ownership of Bill Thomas, and of "his honor the Judge," (that is to say, no right at all in either case,) and as Thomas had served in

bondage till he could bear it no longer and had managed to escape, while Grier had never served at all; how much more just (we mean, *less unjust*) it would have been, for Keith to have sent his miscreants in full howl after Judge Grier, with bludgeons and pistols, to beat him, to shoot at him while running and while swimming, calling upon Marshals and Deputies, and all bad citizens to aid in the evil conspiracy. We are glad that they did not treat Judge Grier in this manner. We are sorry that they treated William Thomas so. But if one or the other *must* be victimized; we see not but that it had been better (that is *less bad*) to abuse Grier than Thomas. The negro is very probably the better man of the two—at any rate he knows how to run away better than the Judge knows how to behave himself upon the bench)—and as he has *had his share of* Slavery, if there must be more victims take fresh hands—and as the colored race neither devised nor approve the fugitive bill, take white folks—and as Judge Grier is so favorable to the Slave system, take him—or—nobody.

But this fugitive bill is no sound law! It has no true legal basis! It contravenes the precepts and commandments of the Supreme Lawgiver of the Universe. No law is lawful which has his disapprobation. "*You may statutize but you cannot legalize it.*" His will is supreme. Every christian prays daily that it may be done on Earth. And it will be—and this, and other wicked enactments will melt away before it.

COTTON FIGHTS AND CONQUERS.—In every moral discussion the unwitting and incidental testimony of an adversary is deemed significant. The *Charleston* (S. C.) *Mercury*, in the course of an argument to prove his position that "*Slavery is a positive good in itself*," presents us with the following strong reason for withholding the motive.

"If not by the expansion of area, certainly by the diffusion of her grand project, the South is growing more powerful abroad. There is not an additional bale of cotton which leaves our shores, but renders the world more tributary to her labor, and more dependent upon its successful permanency. Defying all competition, whitening the wharves of every port, and clothing alike the peasant and the prince, whithersoever it goes, *cotton fights and conquers for Southern Slavery*. It closes the question by its actual and wide spread blessings."

Recently, in a neighboring city, a very pro-slavery N. Orleans relief committee assumed the sufficiency of COTTON to fight and conquer the Yellow Fever and its attendant calamities, and they announced that they did not wish contributions from Abolitionists. None of the Gothamite Cotton Princes, however, came up to the thousand dollar donation of "*the man of Peterboro*" whose pocket and whose conscience

are alike unsullied by the gratification or the profit arising from slave-grown produce.

NEW SPECTACLES WANTED.—The Austin (Texas) State Gazette complains of reiterated cases of misconduct of negroes, one instance being the murder of an overseer by a Slave who was daily subjected to his loving kindness, or the reverse, as the case might be; and gives the sum of the matter—the moral—the philosophy as follows:

"The control of masters over slaves in Texas, is not sufficiently strict and severe:—there lies the evil."

We find by our Exchanges that in other Slave States overseers have been killed by Slaves, but *mild treatment* is not stated as the cause. We always lament such acts of violence, but the true deduction of effect from cause is given by the *Freeman* in the caption of one of these sad anecdotes. "**REVENGE THE FRUIT OF TYRANNY.**" Our readers will not think the query impertinent—*Who gives the motive?*

FREE PRODUCE CONVENTION SUGGESTED.—We see in F. Douglass' paper a letter to Gerrit Smith from our valued friend and contributor H. Miles of Monkton, Vermont, suggesting "the propriety of organizing an *American Free Produce Association*:—of holding a convention during the fall or winter,"—"Let us," says H. M. "have a demonstration that there is some 'resolution in our resolves' to have no union with slaveholders, politically ecclesiastically or *commercially*." G. Smith in an unpublished reply says,

"I and my family have refrained for 20 years from Slave produce. IT IS ONE OF THE WAYS BY WHICH, UNDER GOD, I AM ABLE TO MAINTAIN MY ANTI-SLAVERY PRINCIPLES. I should be much pleased to see such an Association as you speak of."

A kindred project has been entertained by some friends in this vicinity.

TURKEY—DECLARATION OF WAR.—"Telegraphic despatches are such as to make the stock-jobbers dizzy." Such is the prominent thought of the London correspondent of an important Commercial Journal, in announcing a crisis which threatens the peace of Europe. The philanthropist's heart grows heavy in the apprehension of results, far more dreadful in his estimation than the dizziness of a few selfish stock-jobbers' heads. He thinks of "confused noises, and garments rolled in blood,"—of desolated homes,—of mangled bodies, and departing souls. He shudders to think

"in that sleep of death what dreams may come," and remembers that "after death cometh the judgment." According to his ideas of political economy, no circumstances *can* arise to render a war expedient: no causes, no provocation can be sufficient to justify it. The en-

lightened republican thinks within himself,—
"War is a game, which, were their subjects wise, Kings could not play at."

The student of prophecy, feels a solemn thrill through every vein, as he marvels whether, in this stirring up of nations, the dominion is *now* to be taken away from the fourth beast having ten horns, (Dan. vii. 23, 26.) He feels that the present crisis moment will be a point of interest to future christian historians, either from the greatness of the events, or from the extension of God's restraining power to hold back the wrath of man until the fulfilling of HIS time. The call is emphatic upon every denizen of Earth, so to live that his soul may be secure, while thrones are cast down, Prophecy takes its course, and the consummation hastens; so to live that in the perfecting of the unarraignable WILL, he may not be "afraid with any amazement," but may like Daniel, "stand in his lot at the end of the days."

LITERARY NOTICES.

THE THIRTEENTH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE AMERICAN AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY: PRESENTED AT NEW YORK, MAY 11, 1853. 216 PAGES.

We cannot well speak too highly of the interest and value of this elaborate document. It is worthy of preservation in a permanent form in every christian's library. Were we not otherwise "full of matter," we might profitably fill our sheet with extracts. The range of subject matter is large, "embracing" (says a notice in the Era) "not only a copious history of the past year, (political, ecclesiastical, and miscellaneous,) on the subject of slavery and abolition, but much important additional information concerning the *present position of the slave question*, some of which was *never before published*."

We have to acknowledge a kind notice of our humble periodical, and a fair statement of the objects of the Free Produce Associations of Friends.

The edition is large, and copies will be sent *gratis* to any one who will address (postage paid) L. Tappan, 48 Beekman st., N. York, enclosing *four postage stamps* to pay the postage on the pamphlet. The offer is liberal, and every person who wishes either to be posted up on the subject, or to contribute to an Anti-Slavery Library, should avail himself of it.

PLATFORM OF THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY AND ITS AUXILIARIES. 36 pages.—This pamphlet which contains the constitution of the Society and declaration of its sentiments adopted twenty years ago, and a recent exposition by W. L. Garrison, is prefaced by a paragraph addressed "to the reader,"

which says that, "by these documents, and by its official acts, **the Society asks to be judged."

We turn over the pages, to see how far this important Society has recognized and developed the non participation idea, which we deem so sound, and which certainly gains favor daily. We do not look in vain. The documents are full of noble sentiments, some of which cover the whole ground. This little book is a well-timed re-assertion of this fundamental principle, and we trust it may check many of its readers from giving to a brother the motive for sinning. W. L. G. in his Exposition says:

"No steps has the American Anti-Slavery Society ever taken backwards. Not that it is conceited, dogmatical, unwilling to yield when in error, but because there has been no occasion for retracting or going back."

In the declaration (adopted simultaneously with the Constitution) a powerful document, permeated with eternal truth, after declaring that slaves are "plundered daily of the fruits of their toil without redress,"—it is asserted "that no man has a right to keep back his hire by fraud:" and this unquestionable position being admitted, we would suggest to all anti-Slavery friends the inquiry, *how can the right accrue to us, to accept the hire from those who have kept it back?* In the next paragraph it is well asserted, that "Every man has a right to his own body—to the products of his own labor. &c." After thus much, we cannot wonder, that, in immediate connection with solemn resolves, the determination should be written out: "WE SHALL ENCOURAGE THE LABOR OF FREEMEN RATHER THAN OF SLAVES, BY GIVING A PREFERENCE TO THEIR PRODUCTIONS." Truly, "there has been no occasion for retracing or going back" from this position, and if it be only to "give the preference," we wish our friends to keep their ground. *Give the preference* to free groceries, (they may be obtained)—sugars, rice, coffee, &c. *Give the preference* to flax, to wool, or to free grown cotton, even though it be at some expense of pride, and though it involve the cultivation of that christian grace, humility, wear for the slave's sake, if needs be, a homelier garment, and as thou lookest thereon, "remember those in bonds as bound with them."

AMERICAN SLAVE CODE.—W. GOODELL.

We have already noticed this work on page 24, and we again commend it to all who wish to have, in form for convenient reference, complete, reliable and irrefutable information respecting the "domestic institution" in behalf of which the South and the North, like Ananias and Sapphira, conspire together to "lie unto God," and which is hourly the occasion of such enormous cruelties

"as make the angels weep."—

From chap. 10, we extract the following notice of

"a merciful Safety valve."

"In our chapter V. on the "*Uses of Slave Property*,"* it was shown how coolly and deliberately gangs of slaves are *used up* on the sugar plantations of Louisiana, once in seven or eight years. In Mr. Weld's book, before us, we have many testimonies that corroborate the general fact. We spare room for only one, which comes on the authority of Rev. John O. Choules, Baptist minister, once of New Bedford, Mass., afterwards of Buffalo, New York. "While attending the Baptist Triennial Convention at Richmond, Va., in 1835," says Mr. C., "I had a conversation with an officer of the Baptist church in that city, at whose house I was a guest. I asked him if he did not apprehend that the slaves would eventually rise and exterminate their masters? 'Why,' said the gentleman, 'I did use to apprehend such a catastrophe, but God has made a providential opening, a *merciful safety valve*, and now I do not feel alarmed, in the prospect of what is coming.' 'What do you mean,' said Mr. Choules, 'by Providence opening a merciful safety valve?' 'Why,' said the gentleman, 'I will tell you.' The slave-traders come from the cotton and sugar plantations of the South, and are willing to *buy up* more slaves than we can part with. We must keep a stock for the purpose of *rearing* slaves, but we part with the most valuable, and at the same time the most *dangerous*; and the demand is very constant, and is likely to be so, for when they go to those Southern States, the average existence is **ONLY FIVE YEARS!**"

WEEKLY MISSOURI REPUBLICAN.—Some one has sent us this paper for the 7th inst. It is a large sheet, with a business appearance. The feature which most attracted our attention, however, is certainly not very "Republican." The advertising columns are sprinkled with cuts of negroes, with advertisements of rewards for the recapture of self-emancipated bondmen,—"*Negroes wanted.*"—&c. A certain John Mattingly advertises for 2500 negroes, brags of his new Jail, and "wishes to purchase every good negro offered." We are pretty certain that he is not a *good* white man, but what shall we say or think of the newspaper conductor, who thus for hire lends himself to Satan's vilest work. We wish no harm to the Republican, nor to his advertising patrons, Flournoy, Smith, Lynch, Mattingly &c.—but we think when a gang *must* be made up "for the N. Orleans market," it would really be better to sell them off, than to catch and send back poor fellows who have had their turn, and have proved their fitness for freedom by their efforts to obtain it. It was quite refreshing to see, among these advertisements, a reward offered for a runaway horse.

*Among other *uses* incurably sick damaged and disabled negroes are bought "*cheap*, like old iron," by medical institutions, "to be experimented and operated upon, for purposes of *medical education* and the interests of *medical science.*"

THE NON-SLAVEHOLDER.

"Whoso gives the motive, makes his brother's sin his own."

VOL. I.—NEW SERIES.]

PHILADELPHIA, TWELFTH MONTH, 1853.

[No. 12.]

WILLIAM J. ALLINSON, EDITOR.

PUBLISHED MONTHLY

BY GEORGE W. TAYLOR,

North West Corner of Fifth and Cherry Streets,
PHILADELPHIA.

Price of one copy, ... FIFTY CENTS.

" of three copies, ... ONE DOLLAR.

" or of eight copies, ... TWO DOLLARS,

in one payment, *always in advance, post-paid,*
and at the rate of 25 cents per copy for all over eight.
When gold or postage stamps can be remitted it will
save the loss on bank notes which are here under par.

Postage on this paper only 6 cents per annum, if
paid in advance at the delivery post office.

All subscriptions and business letters to be sent
to the Publisher, in Philadelphia.

Exchange papers and communications for insertion
should be addressed, "Non-Slaveholder, Burlington, N.
J." (the residence of the Editor.)

The following communication, addressed to
our subscribers by a valued friend in Ohio,
who, in co-operation with others has rendered
most efficient service in extending the cir-
culation of our paper, was received just as
we were ready for the press. It is most
gratifying as an evidence of zeal on the part of
distant friends, and cannot, we think, fail to
enlist volunteer agents.

We call upon those to whom the present
number is sent, to consider whether it may not
be proper for them to obtain new subscribers
in their respective neighborhoods, or to hand
it to some one who would be likely to take an
interest in the work.

Pecuniary considerations had nothing to do
with the establishment of our paper; and apart
from such considerations, it is desirable to
bring the Non-Slaveholder before a new class
of readers. The reasons for aiming to do so,
are too obvious to dwell upon. The greater
the number of conscientious persons whom we
can induce to look the subject fully in the face,
and think seriously upon it, the more probabili-
ty will there be that our abstinence from
Slave produce may tell upon the system of
Slavery.

To the Subscribers of the Non-Slaveholder.

Feeling a deep interest in the advancement of the
cause of human freedom, we have entertained strong
desires for the continuance of the Non-Slaveholder, an
efficient advocate of a branch of that cause, which has
engaged too little of the attention of the Christian phi-
lanthropist.

We have felt bound to make an appeal to the sub-
scribers individually, that they not only continue their
subscriptions, but consider themselves as agents for ob-
taining as many additional subscribers as possible; let
every one feel that upon them individually rests the
responsibility of its continuance. If each could obtain
but one additional subscription, it would establish this
periodical upon a permanent basis.

It is very desirable that the circulation of the Non-
Slaveholder should be largely extended. The price is
but a trifle, 25 cents per copy per annum to clubs of 8
or upwards. It is of creditable appearance, and will
be valuable for preservation. Will not then our young
men, and young women throughout the land, those
whose hearts are ever ready to feel and sympathize
with the oppressed, enlist in this righteous cause, and
make up clubs of subscribers for the Non-Slaveholder?

This has been done in a praiseworthy manner the
present year by many of this interesting class, and we
rejoice in believing that this method will be extended,
particularly in localities, where we think the Non-
Slaveholder would be a welcome visitor, but where we
are sorry to learn but few copies are yet taken.

Then may we feel an assurance that this periodical
will become firmly established, and its usefulness in-
creased. That the principle it advocates will be more
generally embraced by the sincere advocates of univer-
sal emancipation, and that a powerful restraint will be
thereby exercised upon the dark crime of Slavery the
world over.

OHIO.

AN APPEAL FOR THE BONDWOMAN,

TO HER OWN SEX.

BY ELIZABETH LLOYD, JR.

PART VII.

SINFUL and PENITENT! uplift thine eyes,

Bent on the past too sadly and too long,

From fest, and vigil, and vain sacrifice,

Rouse to the story of a sister's wrong.

BEAUTY hath heard it—and hath turned aside

From heartless homage, to make glad our way;

Converts from humble hearth and hall of pride,

Fellow our standard in a firm array.

AMBITION, with its eager straining eye,

Mark'd in their strife with wrong, our early brave,

Flung to the winds its schemings wild and high,

And pledged its strength for Freedom and the slave!

And GENIUS is with us, dropping dew

Upon our toil-worn hearts in holy Song,

Setting to music doctrines stern and true,

And making green our pathway hard and long.

SORROW hath brought her sympathetic tears,

And MIRTH our drooping spirits doth beguile,

HOPE keeps a patient watch with all our fears,

And FAITH bends o'er us with an angel smile.

Some are beside us, bearing on their way

The lone slave's burden, meekly and serene,

Her stripes and groans, as, in a darker day,
 One wore *our* bonds—THE HOLY NAZARENE!
 Chastened and contrite one! but yet we need
 Thy knowledge, and thy strength, of suffering born
 Not for the slave alone to strive and plead,
 But for her tyrant, sitting high in scorn.
 For who like one who knows the Tempter's power,
 Can find into a hardened heart, the way?
 In sad remembrance of her own dark hour,
 Learning to pity all that go astray.
 By the deep quiet of a soul forgiven,—
 The humbling lessons thou wert crushed, to learn,—
 By thy sweet foretaste of the joy in Heaven,
 When lost ones, who have missed their way,
 return—
 Draw near us—the oppressor needs a friend,
 Slow to reproach, forbearing in the Right,
 Till God in mercy over him shall bend
 On his dark path to say, "Let there be Light!"

For the Non-Slaveholder.

QUOTATIONS.

The liberty which ardent minds often take with the writings of others—the dead especially—of italicising *parts* of a quoted sentence which the authors have not so emphasised, is a departure from the precise truth which a proper consideration of the subject will not justify. It is very clear that in so doing a magnitude may often be given to a point not so enlarged in the mind of the writer—thus doing an injustice to his views: at the same time a deception is to some extent practised on the *unwarned* reader, who confidently relies on the exactness of the quotation. In some cases, the effect may be equivalent to an interpolation. To avoid all error, it is better that the quotation should appear as found in the text, and the gloss be left to the reader, or separately stated by the commentator. VERITAS.

PRACTICE vs. PROFESSION.

Concluded from page 92.

Prof. Is there any way, by which such cotton may be certainly separated, collected and manufactured unmixed with slave labor cotton?

Prac. That has already been done repeatedly. First by the Free Produce Association, which sent a conscientious man into these states, who visited a large number of those planters at their own homes, and ascertained satisfactorily, that they neither owned nor hired slaves. This agent took down the address of those whom he considered reliable persons; and from them, free labour cotton has been obtained for the free labour store in Philadelphia. Some has been manufactured in this country, and some has been shipped to England and manufactured there, to supply the demand both in England and the United States.

Prof. Is there not a strong probability that after this free labour cotton has been thus honestly put into the hands of manufacturers, they will, to avoid trouble, allow it to be mixed with the cotton they buy in the open market, and thus defeat your object at last?

Prac. It is true there is some danger of this. To

guard against imposition, manufacturers of integrity must be employed.

Prof. But is it not a very expensive as well as troublesome operation to clean out a mill in order to run this free labour cotton through by itself?

Prac. To avoid this expense, the plan is, to put into the mill a larger quantity of free labour cotton than is required for the fabrics wanted. On introducing it into the machinery, its progress is watched, and when the goods can be certainly considered all of the free labour material, they are set aside as such until the mixture again appears. But a less troublesome method, and requiring a smaller provision of free labour cotton, would be to establish mills to run exclusively on free labour cotton. G. W. Taylor proposes, if the friends of the cause will raise sufficient capital to purchase the machinery, to try the experiment on the smallest scale of running a mill on a variety of staple articles.

Prof. I must confess, the free labour movement has more reason on its behalf, and appears more practicable than I at first supposed.

Prac. It is not only reasonable and practicable, but demands attention and adhesion upon Christian grounds. GREGORY.

A TENDER CONSCIENCE.*

Soon after I entered this province, [Maryland] a deep and painful exercise came upon me, which I often had some feeling of, since my mind was drawn toward these parts, and with which I had acquainted my brother before we agreed to join as companions. As the people in this and the Southern Provinces live much on the labor of slaves, many of whom are used hardly, my concern was that I might attend with singleness of heart to the voice of the true Shepherd, and be so supported as to remain unmoved at the faces of men.

As it is common for friends on such a visit to have entertainment free of cost, a difficulty arose in my mind with respect to saving my money by kindness received, from what appeared to me to be the gain of oppression. Receiving a gift, considered as a gift, brings the receiver under obligations to the benefactor, and has a natural tendency to draw the obliged into a party with the giver. To prevent difficulties of this kind, and to preserve the minds of judges from any bias, was that divine prohibition: "Thou shalt not receive any gift; for a gift blindeth the wise, and perverteth the words of the righteous." Exod. xxiii. 8. As the disciples were sent forth without any provision for their journey, and our Lord said the workman is worthy of his meat, their labour in the gospel was considered as a reward for their entertainment, and therefore not received as a gift; yet, in regard to my present journey, I could not see my way clear in that respect. The difference appeared thus: the entertainment the disciples met with, was from them whose hearts God had opened to receive them, from a love to them and the truth they published; but we, considered as members of

*We extract from Woolman's Journal the passage referred to by our correspondent from Mercer Co., N. J.

the same religious society, look upon it as a piece of civility to receive each other in such visits; and such reception, at times, is partly in regard to reputation, and not from an inward unity of heart and spirit. Conduct is more convincing than language; and where people, by their actions, manifest that the slave-trade is not so disagreeable to their principles but that it may be encouraged, there is not a sound uniting with some friends who visit them.

The prospect of so weighty a work, and of being so distinguished from many whom I esteemed before myself, brought me very low; and such were the conflicts of my soul, that I had a near sympathy with the prophet, in the time of his weakness, when he said, "If thou deal thus with me, kill me, I pray thee, if I have found favour in thy sight." Num. xi. 15. But I soon saw that this proceeded from the want of a full resignation to the divine will. Many were the afflictions which attended me; and in great abasement, with many tears, my cries were to the Almighty for his gracious and fatherly assistance; and after a time of deep trial, I was favoured to understand the state mentioned by the psalmist, more clearly than ever I had done before; to wit: "My soul is even as a weaned child." Psalm cxxxi.

2. Being thus helped to sink down into resignation, I felt a deliverance from that tempest in which I had been sorely exercised, and in calmness of mind went forward, trusting that the Lord Jesus Christ, as I faithfully attended to him, would be a counsellor to me in all difficulties; and that by his strength I should be enabled, even to leave money with the members of society where I had entertainment, when I found that omitting it, would obstruct that work to which I believed he had called me. As I copy this after my return, I may here add, that oftentimes I did so, under a sense of duty. The way in which I did it was thus; when I expected soon to leave a friend's house where I had entertainment, if I believed that I should not keep clear from the gain of oppression without leaving money, I spoke to one of the heads of the family privately, and desired them to accept of those pieces of silver, and give them to such of their negroes as they believed would make the best use of them: and at other times, I gave them to the negroes myself, as the way looked clearest to me. Before I came out, I had provided a large number of small pieces for this purpose; and thus offering them to some who appeared to be wealthy people, was a trial both to me and them. But the fear of the Lord so covered me at times, that my way was made easier than I expected; and few, if any, manifested

any resentment at the offer, and most of them, after some conversation, accepted of them.

JOHN WOOLMAN, in 1757.

THE SLAVE-MARKET AT MEMPHIS.—A correspondent of the *Chicago Daily Times* gives the following description of some things he saw at Memphis:—"I landed at this place on Christmas morning. The first thing that met my eye, standing on a high bank facing the river, was the following inscription in large letters, upon a fine building, with piazza and pillars in front:—'Bolton, Dickens and Co., Slave Dealers.' In addition to this, I soon found two others on one of the principal streets in the city, situated nearly opposite to each other. The sign of one reads thus:—'Byrd Hill, Slave Market;' the other, 'Ben Little, Slave Market and Livery Stable.' I visited them, and was invited to 'walk in and look at the stock.' Oh! how my whole being recoiled at the thought. There were men and women, girls and boys, of almost every shade of complexion, ranging in age from ten to thirty or forty, all well dressed, as you see no other slaves, except some favoured body-servants. Some of the best-looking young women were attired in beautiful de laine, made in the fashion too. When a stranger goes in, they are quickly arranged upon seats on either side of the room, and they watch with interest any one they suppose intends to buy. Of course, you can examine teeth, limbs, &c, and call for any exercises from them you choose. They are taken out every day and walked around in a large circle, the men and boys under one leader, and the females under another. I was not permitted to look into their place of confinement for the night, but only saw the grated window. Near by are horses and mules for sale, and they are fat and sleek, because in the market. For the same reason were these men and women well dressed."—*A. S. Reporter.*

WELL DONE.

The slave Lewis, while before the Commissioners last week, at an interesting moment of the trial, when all eyes for some minutes were fixed upon the court, took out a writ of *Habeas Corpus* on his own account, and taking himself into his own custody, walked out unperceived, and has not been heard of since. Mr. Commissioner felt that his proceedings were effectually *quashed*, and the Anglo Saxon found himself in the vocative.

The Ch. Press, (Cincinnati.)

THE NON-SLAVEHOLDER.

PHILADELPHIA, TWELFTH MONTH, 9, 1853.

With this number, which concludes the volume, a title page and Index will be sent out for the use of those who wish to file or bind our Journal.

Our esteemed friend, the Publisher, wishes us to state distinctly, that his old list is thrown aside, and that no one can be known as a subscriber till his name is entered, on renewal of his subscription, in the new forwarding book. This cash system appears to be the only one on which we can proceed.

A large number of subscriptions have been sent to us in clubs, and many of these have been paid by interested friends, without consulting the persons so furnished. The names

were entered on receipt of the money. We cannot know what subscriptions will be renewed, and were we to continue to furnish our paper until requested to stop, we must incur the risk of sending to many non-subscribers, and hence, without incurring the expense of printing a large number of extra copies, we might be unable to meet new orders.

We hope and expect the renewal of most of the old subscriptions, and a large addition to our list. We hope that those to whom this volume has been sent without charge, will, if they approve our labors, take care to send us some additional names as subscribers. We have evidence that our little periodical has been instrumental in an accession to the number of those who admit its leading idea. This consideration will, we confidently trust, stimulate the friends of the cause to extend its circulation.

Promptitude in this matter is extremely desirable and important to us. New subscribers, and those who wish to renew their subscriptions, will accommodate us by remitting to our Publisher in time to enlighten us as to the probable demand before the publication of our next number.

With those who have accompanied us through this volume, we trust that there are established some feelings in common, which would induce an unwillingness to part company.

Those who have kindly acted as AGENTS of the cause in procuring subscribers, are requested, for the Slave's sake and for the testimony of Truth's sake, to renew their labor of love. These will not think their efforts in vain, even though it be their lot to swell the number of those, who, having labored in faith for the right, and not having received their heart's desire, *died in faith*,

"Knowing this—that never yet
Share of Truth was vainly set
In the World's wide fallow.
After hands shall sow the seed,
After hands from hill and mead
Reap the harvests yellow."

SPROUTINGS OF GRIER SEED.

"If any tuppenny magistrate, or any unprincipled interloper can come in, and cause to be arrested, the officers of the United States, whenever they please, it is a sad state of affairs." * * *

"If habeas corpus are to be taken out after this manner, I will have an indictment sent to the United States Grand Jury against the person who applies for the writ, or assists in getting it, the lawyer who defends it, and the sheriff who serves it."—*Judge Grier*.

In our last, we noticed the attempted capture of the fugitive, W. Thomas, the arrest of the brutal men who outraged the community by beating him till his blood flowed like water, and aimed at his life with fire-arms, whilst he was, without resistance, effecting his escape, and the discharge of these criminals by Judge

Grier, who accepted testimony for defendants, rejecting that on behalf of the commonwealth.

The witnesses thus set aside by the modern Jeffries, gave their testimony, before Alderman Mitchell and Com. Ingraham. Their affidavits were sent to the Editor of the Register, who published them, having, as he says, "given every thing on the other side, Judge Grier's tirade against State magistrates included."

On this, complaint being made by John Jenkins and George Wynkoop, WM. BIRNEY, the editor of the Register was arrested on a criminal charge of libel, and was required to give bail in \$800. He says:

Judge Grier threatens to have indicted, every body who shall take part in bringing such cases before our State Courts. A beginning is now made on the Editorial corps. We have been selected as the first victim. This we regard as a proud distinction. Tho' not a native of Pennsylvania, we shall let no right of her's be stricken down in our person. Our cause is that of the whole press. We shall defend ourselves, even if to reach the shoulders of the chief abettor in this business, our blows must fall on ermine

The Grand Jury of Lucerne county, have found true bills against "the ruffian deputies" (as the Freeman styles them) Wynkoop, Jenkins and Crossen, "for their murderous assault on Wm. Thomas."—"We understand," says the Freeman, "that the most desperate efforts were made by the United States authorities to have the bill quashed; but the manly yeomanry of that mountain region did not choose to submit to their dictation."

Immediately after the arrest of Birney, was published an announcement and outline of a forthcoming drama in three acts, called "Bill Thomas, or the Marshal and his men." According to the programme, Judge Grier is to hold a conspicuous place, and to appear sufficiently odious and ridiculous. We mention this as one of the results of this bold violation of Justice, and glaring insult upon the people of a free Commonwealth. We trust that those who perceive the dangerous tendency of theatrical exhibitions, will not be snared, by their curiosity or their sympathies, into a violation of their well ascertained sense of right.

"The Theatre was from the very first
The favorite haunt of Vice:—altho' some men,
Some very honest, wise and worthy men,
Have deemed it might be turned to good account,
And so perhaps it might:—but never was."

"A BRIBE FOR A JUDAS."—Under this caption the Freeman publishes the advertisement of Marshal Wynkoop, offering \$100 reward for the arrest, or for proof leading to the conviction of the humane individual who acted the good Samaritan to William Thomas. The Marshal had better keep his hundred dollars, or invest them in the under-ground railroad; for the fact he wishes to ascertain will be suf-

ficiently published in good time, in view of all the world; it is already

Recorded in the book which opened lies
Before the throne, scanned by angelic eyes.

At first blush it would seem that the coin might have been appropriately offered as a "Reward" to the good Samaritan referred to. But on reflection it will be seen that the helpers of those who are ready to perish, serve a bountiful Master, who recognizes deeds like this as *done unto Him*, and who is quite competent to reward his own servants, though his payments are made, "not as the World gives."

COLORPHOBIA—Many of our readers are acquainted with R. Purvis, a gentleman of talent, education, refinement, and as well entitled to be respected in all his rights as any magnate of the land. Those who enjoy his friendship, derive fully as much benefit as they confer, in the interchange of thought and courtesy. And those who are not worthy of the society of gentlemen, may be the objects of his benevolence, but they enter not the circle of his friendship.

As Robert Purvis had not the ordering of his pedigree, as he did not select his parentage, it is neither to his credit nor the reverse that there is a slight admixture of African blood in his veins. It is, however, much to his credit, that his wife is the accomplished daughter of the late James Forten, for none but a man of merit could have secured her hand.

The son of this gentleman, (a gentleman himself) with two young women of education and refinement, and of African descent, who were guests at the house of Robert Purvis, visited the late Exhibition of the Franklin Institute, and were expelled, it is alledged, on the strength of an order of the Managers.

Had they sneaked into the hall without paying their admission fee? Nay verily! They purchased their tickets, and were admitted without objection. They anticipated none, or they would not have presented themselves. Especially, had any hesitation been foreseen, Purvis would never have subjected these really delicate and refined young women to the liability to insult.

Purvis Senior, prosecuted the policeman who committed the outrage, before Alderman Mitchell, who dismissed the case, as we think, unlawfully and unjustly. We do not suppose that the matter will rest here. Our friend Purvis is not one to yield, in his person, the rights of all whose ancestry can be traced to the African Continent. We trust that he will so far guard his spirit as that *Revenge* shall not be a motive. We trust that he will remember that wicked men are to be pitied, and that no conceivable danger is so lamentable as that of a perilled soul. If he can maintain christian

love for his enemies, we would be far from wishing him to rest his case, so long as he can, by pressing it, check this wicked disposition to trample on the rights of a foully injured class of our heavenly Father's children.

Not for revenge, not for wanton punishment, but for humanity's sake,—for the sake of Truth and right, the persons (whoever they may be) implicated in this despicable outrage, unless they will make ample reparation in a public apology, ought to be forced to pay exemplary damages.

MEETING IN MANCHESTER.—Our English exchanges are fraught with interesting anti-slavery matter. From a notice in the A. S. Reporter of a meeting at the Friends' Meeting House, Manchester, 9th mo. 18th. we clip some passages from the remarks of L. A. Chamerovzow.

Mr. Chamerovzow said that it would have afforded him much pleasure to yield to the wishes of the Manchester friends to hold a mass meeting on the anti-slavery question, but there was sometimes wisdom in resisting the solicitations of friends. His principal motive for desiring to confer with them—privately as it were—before holding a public meeting, was with a view to their coming to some common understanding as to the object of such a meeting, and the basis on which their proposed movement should be established. To hold a meeting in Manchester, simply to raise an outcry against slavery, he considered next to useless. Probably, not ten persons could be found in Lancashire who were in favor of slavery; and taking this for granted, they had no converts to make through the medium of a public agitation, which if undertaken at all, must have a definite object. If, however, in Lancashire there could be found no advocates of slavery, tens of thousands would be found to be advocates of cheap cotton. It was scarcely a figure of speech to say that the three million three hundred thousand slaves of the Southern States of the American Union, are held in chains of cotton. England alone had been computed to consume upwards of four fifths of the whole quantity of this staple produce of the United States. Cotton, then, might be regarded as the main-prop of American slavery, and what the anti slavery friends of Manchester had to consider was, whether they could not procure supplies of free-labour cotton from other quarters, and thus render themselves to a certain extent independent of the American slaveholders. Now, a public meeting held to call attention to the importance of opening new sources for the supply of this important commodity, would be of so practical a character that it could not fail to recommend itself to the attention of all parties; and some such course he begged to recommend. In relation to this subject, the Committee of the *British and Foreign Anti Slavery Society* had directed their attention to the question of India Reform, as a means of introducing such ameliorations in the government of India, as should lead to a rapid development of the natural resources of that empire, and an augmented supply of free-labour cotton from the same region. They thought this to be one of the most practical instrumentalities for putting an end to slavery; for if the value of the slave-grown commodity could be reduced by the honest competition with it of the free grown article from India or elsewhere, slavery must infallibly be starved to death ere many years. To accomplish this object, it would be necessary to agitate the country from end to end, because there were powerful influences at work to prevent India Reform, and unless public opinion declared itself uncompromisingly in its favour, no progress would be made. As soon, therefore, as the friends in Manchester were prepared to take this movement

in hand as an anti-slavery instrumentality, the Committee of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society* would be also prepared to take action, and send a deputation to attend a public meeting.

L. A. C. proceeded to discuss the position of American Churches, and, after remarks from others, the subjoined resolution was adopted.

Mr. Chamerovzow having given an outline of operations contemplated by the Committee of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society*, and embracing the following points; namely, 1st. The securing of a reform in the Government of India as a means of promoting the cultivation of free-labor cotton in that country; and, 2ndly, The calling of public attention, but especially that of the various religious denominations in Great Britain, to the position of the American Churches on the question of Slavery, in order to evoke, on the part of the former, a moral testimony against the shortcomings of their co-religionists in the United States with regard to this enormous iniquity; this meeting desires to express its cordial approval of this specific course of action, and resolves to promote the success of the same by every means in its power."

SUIT FOR DAMAGES.—One Johnson has sued the owner of a western Steamer for the value of his negro boy, who, by order of the mate, was piling wood, when by a mis-step he fell overboard and was drowned. Damages laid at \$1000.

FLAX IN AMERICA.—An important, interesting and elaborate series of Essays upon this subject, is in course of publication in **FRIENDS REVIEW**. We designed attempting a condensation, but have concluded to refer the readers to the Essays in full. The subject has an important bearing upon our agricultural, commercial, and manufacturing interests, but a still more important one upon the **FREE LABOR** question, since it opens a prospect of a supply of linen goods, more durable, and at less cost than those made from cotton.

PENNSYLVANIA A. S. SOC.—Henry Grew, at the late anniversary of this Society, introduced a resolution affirming the apathy which exists respecting the use of Slave Produce to be inconsistent with the avowed principles of abolitionists;

"and that their requisition of the slaveholder to make great sacrifices for the cause of freedom and humanity, demands that they should make the smaller sacrifice of labor and expense, in procuring the products of requited toil, so far as is practicable."

In the ensuing discussion, some objected to the sentiment, others to the wording of the part which we have quoted. It was intimated that some make this the "all in all" of the anti-Slavery cause. (An error indeed, if there be any such.) The subject was deferred to another meeting. Our friend Grew follows up the subject in the Freeman, in an Essay in which he happily maintains his position.

DEFERRED.—A valued communication from H. Grew is in type, but crowded out of this number.

GILDERSLEEVE'S LETTER.—This person, on whose affidavit the slave catchers were arrested, has written to Robt. C. Grier a letter, the manly dignity of which he would do well to emulate. Appended is J. L. Butler's deposition taken before and certified by Justice Burrows, that Judge Grier requested said Butler "to tell Mr. Gildersleeve that if he, Gildersleeve, should ever be brought before him, he would hang him." The high character of Burrows "as a citizen, a magistrate, and a Christian," is certified by two Presbyterian ministers, the cashier of the Bank, a Justice of the Peace, a Democratic Congressman, and a Whig Ex-Congressman. Gildersleeve's letter ends thus.

"The outrage at Wilkesbarre, and the indecent and arrogant zeal of a man who fills the high and honorable station of a Judge of the Supreme Court of the U. States, will do something to increase the intense odium with which the Fugitive Slave Act is viewed by the better class of the community. May that odium continue to expand and gather force until it shall finally render it impossible to execute this execrable act. If this be treason, you are at liberty to make the most of it."

IT IS THE SYSTEM.—F. Bremer in her "Homes of the New World," noticing the apathy, the total indifference with which really amiable people in Slave States witness the brutal maltreatment of negroes of both sexes, exclaims, "It is the system! it is the system which produces all this!" From that system, Reader, withdraw thy support. Be separate from it, and bear the eloquent testimony of a blameless example not so much against Slaveholders as against Slaveholding.

OUR TENTH NUMBER.—We have run almost entirely out of number 10. Our Publisher fears that his Packer has inadvertently sent No. 10 in place of No. 11, to a portion of our subscribers. If any have *duplicates* of No. 10 please send them back, as we are much in want of them. If any have received it a second time, *in place of No. 11*, such will please send it back addressed to "Non-Slaveholder, Philadelphia," taking care that the name of the person returning should be on each copy, that we may send No. 11 instead.

OUR NEXT VOLUME is to appear with an enlarged page. By widening and lengthening the columns we propose to give more reading matter.

Passages from our Correspondence.

(Continued from page 82)

MERCER CO, N. J., 10 Mo., 14th.—Yesterday I was at the Crystal Palace. Whilst gazing upon the vast collection, bewildering in its variety, I met with our friend T. D. W., and shall remember the warmth of our greeting when much that I saw will be forgotten. We spoke of the Anti-Slavery mission to the South,* prompted and prosecuted under deep religious feeling. In this

* That of W. Foster and others.—Ed.

connection I referred to the touching notice, in John Woolman's Life, of his visit to some of the Southern Colonies. Under a solemn conviction that he ought not to receive the gains of oppression, he distributed to the Slaves, either directly or through their masters, sums of money which he thought equivalent to the value of his entertainment. Who could have harmed this meek disciple, prostrated himself into the dust at his humiliating service, yet not daring to shrink from the divine requiring?

T. D. W. said it reminded him of a circumstance which occurred in Virginia. At the meeting of a Presbytery, its members were the invited guests of a wealthy slaveholding minister. One morning, one of the members took an early walk, and, happening by the Slaves' quarters, went in and saw their apartments and the miserable meal of which they were partaking. Returning to the house deeply oppressed in spirit, he sat down to the plentiful breakfast of his host,—but he could not eat. On his declining the various delicacies which were successively proffered him, inquiry was made as to the cause; when, overcome by his feelings, he burst into tears, and simply related the observations of the morning. So deep was the effect produced upon his auditors, that the repast was uneaten. They went into the Presbytery, where he resigned the pastorate of his congregation. He removed to a free State, and remained there till his death.

A private letter, in the midst of some valuable remarks, has the following passage.

In many of the reports issued by Free Produce Associations, complaints of apathy occupy a conspicuous place. It may be that this apathy exists;—it is equally true that such apathy being felt as a *burden*, is an indication of life somewhere. The impression still resting upon my mind is, that the declared friends of the Free Labor movement, including the Yearly Meeting of N. Y., of which I am a member, have *not* endorsed a delusive theory, in committing themselves on the side of Free Labor.

BALTIMORE.—A valued Friend referring to the favorable result of the efforts, at the late election, of the Friends of Prohibitory Law, says:

There was no compromise in the matter.—It was a clear understanding that the candidates if elected, were to labor for tee-totalism. The Sheriff, who is a resolute and able man, is elected for two years. The balance of the wards swell our majority to near one thousand. With such an example from a large commercial city, surely our counties will now take up the matter.

I am much hurried but must tell thee of a case of the power of conscience. I met one of our wholesale merchants on the day of election who has heavy consignments of country produce, especially of whiskey. I asked if he had voted. He said,—“Yes, and for the Maine Law. It may seem strange,” he continued, “for me to do so, as my commissions on Whiskey are \$1000 a year, but my conscience bid me do what I knew was right, even though beggary to me should be the result.” Hundreds voted secretly for the law.

But beggary wont be the result! We have not seen such men, nor their seed, begging bread. That man would make “a whole team,” if hitched on to the Anti-Slavery Car. And if he were once to appreciate the principle of *Non-Slaveholding* as we seek to expound it, we do not think he would long hesitate to sacrifice luxury, and the slight pecuniary interest involved, at the shrine of principle. For aught we know, he may be one, who, adopting the

views prevailing around him, would regard our Anti-Slavery yearnings and pleadings as fanatical;—be that as it may—we honor him, for he yields to manifested Duty, and such men may rise up in the judgment against many who yield their assent but not their obedience to the Right.

A PLEA FOR THE SLAVE.

For him who is not kinsman to the Slave,—
To whom some other God existence gave,—
To whom the eternal snowy-pinioned Dove
Hath never stooped on embassy of love,—
Of whom the God of Heaven is not the Sire,—
To whom the Holy Spirit hath not spoken,—
For him we speak not, nor awake our lyre,
We seek not from that soul an answering token.
But, to each soul who claims a Sire in Heaven,
To each for whom a Saviour's life was given,
In fervent love we send our voice abroad,
Beseeching, “Be thou reconciled to God.”

Stupendous work! to make thy peace with Heaven!
To appease a God what offerings shall be given?
How wilt thou minister to His delight,
Or find oblation grateful in His sight?
How wilt thou reach Him in His bowers above
Save through His own blest medium?—God is Love
And love is the fulfilling of the law,
The sovereign tribute which he deigns to draw;
And love to Him, evinced through love to man,
Comprise the Gospel Law and Prophet's plan.
Pay to His almoners the tribute due!
In each down-trodden bondsman thou may'st view
Thy God rejected, outraged, and oppress,
Of thy allegiance and thy love a test.
If to his misery thou hast steeled thy heart,
If to his need thou would'st not aid impart,
Or from the fugitive hast turned away,
Nor lent him shelter on his weary way,
Thou hast denied thy Maker before men,
And holy angels marked thy treason then.

Open thine eyes, and in *each brother* see
The representative of Deity!
With yearning love behold the meanest child,
Whose soul was ransomed by the undefiled.
Weep if oppression thrall his soul or limb!
Weep if Sin's worse domain hath fettered him!

Two harrowing spectacles our view arrest!
The man oppressor, and the man oppress!
The plundered bondsman, when his race is run,
May hear from Heaven's high throne the words, Well done!

And he who sits thereon, may wipe his eyes,
While ambient glory thrills with glad surprise!
And he may range that living stream beside,
Whose waters from the throne like crystal glide,
Mirrored within its breast that tree revealing,
Whose verdant leaves are for the nation's healing.

“There shall be no more curse,”* to sadden him,

* Rev. xxii. 3.

Nor e'er the uncreated Light grow dim,—
Redeemed,—the un pitying tyrant's thralldom o'er,—
Mercy and Love are his for evermore!

If, for eternity, such hopes remain
For the poor slave now writhing in his chain,
Denied the brute's poor luxury,—to complain,—
Whose griefs and wrongs are multiplied each hour,
Beyond conception or description's power,
How must the Father, Maker, Judge of all,
Look down in wrath on his unhallowed thrall!
What words of human utterance can portray
The outpouring gush of tenderness and love,
The indignant pity, and the full array

Of sympathies, which should our bosoms move!
And breathes there one, who from respect to laws
Set in array against "the Great First Cause,"
Whose WILL alone is LAW o'er all supreme,
Would fail to break the fetter from his limb?
Would hesitate to speed his onward way,
Fleeing to freedom from unrighteous sway?
When Law conflicts not with the right and true,
Render to Cæsar, then, the tribute due,
If minor evils to its code belong,
In peaceful non-resistance "*suffer wrong*"—
Or else, alike for interest and for right,
Thou may'st, in calm remonstrance, use thy might,—
But when against ETERNAL RIGHT arrayed,
Judge ye, if God or man should be obeyed!
When to this issue we, perforce, are brought,
God's will is everything,—man's law is nought!
Oh! harden not thy heart, nor case it o'er
With selfish pretexts, or with sophist lore.
Leave to the Eternal Arbitrer the sway
Of those relations He alone can weigh;
And, for thyself, the simple RIGHT pursue!
Keep this pure standard ever in thy view!
Expediency will still attend the right,
But, *taken as a rule*, will Virtue blight,
Lead thee a meteor chase, and dim thy moral sight.

But, most of all, be agonized for those

Who, while they bind the chain and wield the rod,
With infidel security repose,

As the crushed captive's cry ascends to God.
Who see, nor feel, nor fear the warnings given,
When the land darkens with the frown of Heaven!
For these speak out in love untrammell'd words—
Such searching doctrine as the Truth affords!—
For these, incessant, let tongue, press, and pen,
Speak demonstration to the sons of men.
Scatter good seed abroad, and never cease!
Sow them in faith, and God will give increase!
Where Schuylkill sparkles o'er her rocky bed,
Where Delaware's serene expanse is spread,
Where Tombeckbe with Mobile southward creeps,
Where Susquehannah's wealth impetuous sweeps,
Mingling where broad Potomac's current pours;
Where Colorado dimples with strange oars,
Where Rio Bravo bounds the land of Slaves,
Where golden sands the Sacramento laves,
Where swift Columbia leaps and whirls and gushes,
Where Erie to Ontario madly rushes,

Or Mississippi in her channel loiters,
Sow with unsparing hand beside all waters.
In the cold truckling North, and boastful South,
Sow pungent seeds of never dying truth;
And pray for wisdom, guidance, utterance, strength,
And that the scattered seed may grow at length,
And bring forth fruit to multiply again,
To the high praise of the great Husbandman;
That the unflattering witness in each breast
May speak rebuke which cannot be repress,
And that the Sun of Righteousness may shine
In hearts where selfishness has found a shrine,
Till Magnanimity o'er Avarice stealing,
And human love supplant each sordid feeling.

The spurned of man hath still a friend above,
And, stored in Heaven, exhaustless funds of love.
But, for the wielder of the chain and whip,
Who holds God's image in his Hell-nerved grip,
Who gives Cain's answer when the in-speaking Word
Asks of his brother, earnest to be heard;
By whom unnumbered wrongs and stripes are given
To the loved representatives of Heaven,
Whom God hath made recipients of the care
And love He needs not, but which man should spare,
Who wrongs his Maker's image in the slave,
What hope of mercy gleams beyond the grave?
To him thy pity, not thy wrath, be given!
Pray that the chains which bind his soul be riven!
For, more degraded than the wretch he spurns,
Self-blinded, from the gospel light he turns;
Shuts out the Truth's effulgence from his soul,
Where wilful Error holds supreme control;
His heaven-lent powers in Mammon's service wasting,
Most holy Truth to Falsehood's service wresting;
The light within him is to darkness changed,
His soul from God and happiness estranged.
For him the beacon light!—the trumpet sound!
For him let yon blue arch with Truth resound!

Friends of the slave, pursue your Christian course,
Always in love, but with redoubled force—
Heed not the fruitful slanders which defame,
And brand with *transient* infamy your name.
Your reputation shall be safe with Him,

Whom sinners spit upon, reviled, and slew,
Yet pitying love breathed forth in prayer for them,
"Father, forgive—they know not what they do!"
Hold up the light before the bandaged eye!
Shout in the deafened ear the warning cry!
Forth from the press, let winged agents fly
To publish Freedom's doctrines, where alone
Her *name*, and not her living soul, is known.

And, whilst on Truth and Freedom's service bent,
On Truth's blest guidance be thy soul intent!
With watchful spirit tread the narrow way
Where thy Exemplar left a guiding ray.
Far from thy chastened heart be all the train
Of ills which on the untempered zealot gain.
In meekness do thy part, and look to Heaven!
In God's own time, not thine, the fetters will be riven!

W. J. A.

Printed at the Gazette Office, Burlington, N. J.

THE
NON-SLAVEHOLDER.

"WHOSO GIVES THE MOTIVE MAKES HIS BROTHERS SIN HIS OWN."

EDITED BY

WILLIAM J. ALLINSON.

NEW SERIES—VOLUME SECOND.

PHILADELPHIA:
PUBLISHED BY GEORGE W. TAYLOR.
NORTH WEST CORNER FIFTH & CHERRY STS.

1854.

TO THOSE I LOVE.

BY ELIZABETH MARGARET CHANDLER.

Oh, turn ye not displeased away, though I should sometimes seem
Too much to press upon your ear, an oft-repeated theme ;
The story of the negro's wrongs is heavy at my heart,
And can I choose but wish from you a sympathizing part?

I turn to you to share my joy,—to soothe me in my grief—
In wayward sadness from your smiles, I seek a sweet relief:
And shall I keep this burning wish to see the slave set free,
Lock'd darkly in my secret heart, unshared and silently?

I cannot know that all the chords, which give their magic tone
Like Memnon's harp, in music out, 'neath sunshine smiles alone,
Are torn by savage hands away from woman's bleeding breast,
And with their sweetness on my soul, my feelings keep repress'd!

If I had been a friendless thing—if I had never known,
How swell the fountains of the heart beneath affection's tone,
I might have, careless, seen the leaf torn rudely from its stem,
But clinging as I do to you, can I but feel for them?

I could not brook to list the sad sweet music of a bird,
Though it were sweeter melody than ever ear hath heard,
If cruel hands had quench'd its light, that in the plaintive song,
It might the breathing memory of other days prolong.

And can I give my lip to taste the life-bought-luxuries, wrung
From those on whom a darker night of anguish has been flung—
Or silently and selfishly enjoy my better lot.
While those whom God hath bade me love, are wretched and forgot?

Oh no !—so blame me not, sweet friends, though I should sometimes seem
Too much to press upon your ear an oft-repeated theme ;
The story of the negro's wrongs hath won me from my rest,—
And I must strive to wake for him an interest in your breast!

JOHN RODGERS, PRINTER,

BURLINGTON, N. J.

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ERRATA.

Page 15—second column, fifth line—For “*excited*” read *existed*.
 — 46—second column, fourth line—For “1850” read 1840.
 — 35—seventeenth line—For “*parts*” read *Ports*.

THE NON-SLAVEHOLDER.

"Whoso gives the motive, makes his brother's sin his own."

VOL. II.—NEW SERIES.]

PHILADELPHIA, FIRST MONTH, 1854.

[No. 1.

WILLIAM J. ALLINSON, EDITOR.

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" of three copies, . . . ONE DOLLAR.
" of eight copies, . . . TWO DOLLARS,
in one payment, always in advance, post-paid,

and at the rate of 25 cents per copy for all over eight. When gold or postage stamps can be remitted it will save the loss on bank notes which are here under par.

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FREE LABOR MANUFACTORY.

TO ALL THE FRIENDS OF THE FREE LABOR MOVEMENT.

The importance to the cause of abstinence from the products of Slave Labour of a manufactory exclusively employed on free labour cotton, must be obvious to all who have been conversant with the many difficulties which have attended the occasional employment of mills, ordinarily filled with slave-grown cotton. The undersigned proposes the FOLLOWING PLAN for the supply of this desideratum.

If the friends of the movement will supply the means for the purchase of machinery and one half of the stock of cotton, (which must be procured in the winter for the whole year,) the undersigned will rent the machinery and purchase the cotton, guaranteeing 6 per cent. per annum interest on the whole, (a sum deemed adequate for wear and tear of machinery,) and keep it insured against loss by fire during the term of his lease:—and will also engage to purchase the machinery within five years from the time of its going into operation if required by the contributors of the fund, for a sum equal to the cost less the reserved fund.—It is proposed that the contributors appoint one or two of their number to hold the trust, and to attend to its proper application. Several Friends of this city and vicinity have subscribed one thousand dollars each, and some have offered five hundred dollars each. It is now proposed to the friends of the cause all

over the country to make up about six or seven thousand dollars more, which they can readily do by subscriptions of twenty dollars and upwards—or even smaller sums. It is very desirable to have the mill go into operation the approaching spring.

Address, GEO. W. TAYLOR,
First mo., 1854. Box 777, Philada.

Passages from our Correspondence.

(Continued.)

WESTCHESTER Co., N. Y. (with 16 Subscribers.)—Having been furnished with the first Vol. of the N. S. by some unknown friend, we have been so far interested with it as to desire its continuance, and its perusal for another year; and well knowing that patronage is necessary, we have taken a little pains to ask our neighbors and friends to subscribe, and thus, with my own name, I send 15 others. It is a little trouble, but more imaginary than real, and if every family who read the paper last year at some other person's expense, would do only as much as we have done, it would no doubt add very considerably to the circulation of the paper, and stimulate the benevolent to "cast their bread upon the waters." We shall continue to obtain subscribers, as opportunity offers, at the club price, as the cheapness of the paper induces some to try it.

JACKSON Co., MICHIGAN, (with a subscription.)—Being determined not to support Slavery in any way, shape or form, and being fully convinced that the use of the products of the Slave's unrequited toil supports the unrighteous system, I have come to the deliberate conclusion to be a partaker of that great wrong no longer; and therefore wish you to send me the following bill.

[Here follows an order on the Free Produce Store.]

[This correspondent and subscriber is especially welcome, and his testimony is entitled to much respect. He was banished from North Carolina two years ago for preaching against Slavery.—ED.]

QUEEN'S Co., L. ISLAND—(with 8 subscriptions). * * I wish to encourage the paper, having always liked it from the first, because it was in unity with my concern, which I have endeavored to maintain for forty years, although I have not been as faithful at all times as would have yielded the greatest amount of happiness. Therefore, as my only regret in the retrospect is my unfaithfulness, may we be cheered on our way, to do what our hands find to do in the great work of reform, not only on the subject of Sla-

very, but of Temperance, &c. As brotherly kindness and the great law of love become predominant, and take the rule in men's minds, then indeed will the kingdoms of this world become the kingdoms of our Lord and of his Christ."

A BELOVED FRIEND FROM THE SAME COUNTY writes, (with larger a number of subscriptions). "Endeavoring to enlarge the list of subscribers, nearly all the families in our meeting unite therein."

CLINTON CO., OHIO.—(with 16 subscriptions.) There appears to be a lively interest felt in the free-produce cause, by some whose influence may do much towards promoting the good work. Yet it is to be feared that (even amongst those of foremost ranks, and in other respects worthy in double honor) too much apathy exists. I trust that the CAUSE may never flag for want of true and faithful supporters, even should they be among the youth.

WILLOW GROVE, N. J.—Having perused Vol. 1—of the new series of this racy publication, I have been so well pleased with its contents, and with the wholesome tendency, (as I conceive) of the sentiments which it offers to the reading community, that I wish to contribute towards ensuring its continuance and extension.—To test my power to do this, (though laden with the infirmities of fourscore years,) I tried the experiment of a short walk among such of my neighbors as had no knowledge of the existence of such a publication. The result was nine subscribers, and \$2.25 as per enclosure. Such unanimity of belief prevails in the irrefutable principles of our "Declaration" of rights, and of their evident appliance to the outraged Ethiopian, that were a suitably qualified person with a stitched copy of the published volume, to walk over our County, subsisting for a few weeks with its hospitable inhabitants, and soliciting their patronage of the N. Slaveholder, I think he might enlist such an army as would effectively attest the approval of your objects.

CAYUGA Co., N. Y.—(with subscription.)—I should be glad to do something more towards circulating so valuable a paper.

ORLEANS Co: N. Y.—Enclosed are \$2.00 for 8 copies of that spirited and excellent little sheet the N. Slaveholder.

HENRY Co: INDIANA.—I enclose the price of 8 copies, hoping thus to contribute something to the down-trodden and oppressed of God's poor.

For the Non-Slaveholder.

NECESSITY FOR ACTION.

While many are endeavoring to procure and use such articles only as are free from the sin of oppression, it is to be feared that others have not let obedience keep pace with knowledge, and and have used but little effort on this behalf.—The difficulty of obtaining all the articles we need, is so great, that it has a very discouraging

effect on our zeal, and did not the monthly visits of the Non-Slaveholder remind us of our duty, I fear there is danger that some of us would lose our interest altogether. I hope, however, that all of the readers of this paper are sufficiently convinced of the sin of Slavery, and also of the necessity of bearing a testimony against it, to be willing to take some further action on the subject, than we have heretofore done.

We are told that Slavery "sits upon a cotton bale,"—that the Slaves in the United States are held by "chains of cotton"—and that "cotton is the main prop of American Slavery." When we reflect on the vast amount, and various uses of cotton, we cannot but assent to the correctness of the above comparisons. Here, then, is the strong hold of Slavery, against which, but a very small amount of anti-slavery effort has been yet wielded. It is comparatively an easy matter to select the free, from slave grown groceries, but to obtain free cotton goods, is a very different thing. In a recent letter from the esteemed proprietor of the Free Labor Store in Philadelphia, he says, "It is with great difficulty I get the cotton goods made, tho' I can readily get the cotton. I hope the difficulty will become less." Here in a few words, we have the whole matter laid open to our view. While we have been persuading one another to use free goods, many of us perhaps, have not been aware of the difficulties those have to encounter, who have undertaken to supply those goods. Their devotion to the cause certainly demands our sympathy, as well as aid.

Thus it appears the first step has not yet been taken to enable us to be consistent in our testimony; and it is very plain that something further must be done,—that some further action is necessary, to enable us to obtain a supply of free cotton goods. Then let us seriously apply to ourselves the query of the early converts to christianity, "Men and brethren what shall we do."—In the twelfth number of the Non-Slaveholder, Practice tells Profession, that "G. W. Taylor proposes, if the friends of the cause will raise sufficient capital to purchase the machinery, to try the experiment, on the smallest scale, of running a mill on a variety of staple articles." "Friends of the cause," we have here something pointed out for us to do. We find that the cotton can be obtained, but that the goods cannot be manufactured without our aid; and unless we give it, it will shew that our zeal is not sufficient for the cause we have espoused. The early Christians did not falter in the performance of their duties, for when they found that money was needed, they "sold their possessions, and goods, and parted them to all men, as every man had need."—Let us be faithful in the performance of our duties, which do not require that we should sell all our possessions, but only a small part of our goods, in proportion to the quantity we possess, and bestow them, as the cause has need. Let our friends in Philadelphia inform us what

amount will be needed, and on what conditions, and I hope a sufficient sum can soon be raised, to set a manufactory in operation, which would be the beginning of a system, that, if faithfully carried on, would lead to results, that might cause millions to rise up and call us blessed. W.

For the Non-Slaveholder.

Friend Editor,—Having been absent for several months, I have not, until recently, had the privilege of reading your useful periodical.

It has long appeared to me an anomaly of no ordinary character, that so many of our anti-slavery friends, who can reason so ably on the general subject of slavery, and who are condemning constantly, the practical inconsistency of northern politicians and professed christians, for *their* fellowship with slavery, are themselves maintaining a fellowship with it, which implicitly sanctions, and which actually sustains the entire system of iniquity.

With their standard unfurled to the world, "NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS;" they voluntarily maintain a *commercial* union, which constitutes the chief incentive for the continuance of what they themselves denominate "the sum of all villainy." Can arguments be offered in vindication of such voluntary support of the system, which will not vindicate the system itself? Is there not, in fact, a striking similarity between the excuses offered in both cases? To every abolitionist we say; close the market to the oppressor and you present the most effective motive to the Slaveholders, in general, to cease the oppression which you so earnestly and so severely condemn. Close it *in parts* and you diminish slavery's woes *in part*. You may say you wish the slaveholder to act from a *purser* motive. Very well; but is it right for you to present the *inferior* motive, which is, with him, the *actual inducement to perpetrate the wrong*? What would you say, in reply to the man who is constantly encouraging theft, by receiving and paying for stolen goods, if he should tell you he desires that the thieves should leave off stealing from better motives than merely to obtain his money? Would you not think that his love of virtue was rather anomalous?

Extend your mental vision across the ocean, to the land of Africa. See the warring tribes in hostile conflict. For what purpose? To supply, with wretched victims of cupidity, the white man's slave-ship, to endure the horrors of "the middle passage." Who presents the motive to perpetrate these incalculable outrages on humanity, which the nation has denominated villainous piracy? Every man who stands ready any where to purchase a fellow being to coerce his unrequited toil. So long as there is a market, it will be, in some measure, supplied, in defiance of the laws of God and man. But who presents the motive to the men who deal in human souls, and drive them to unrequited, cruel, and often death

devouring toil? The purchasers and consumers of the fruits of that toil. And here we come to the *foundation* of the whole superstructure of oppression, cruelty, blood and death, which we have vowed in the presence of God, angels and men, to overthrow by all righteous and appropriate means in our power.

The caveat of "impracticability" is inadmissible, until we have done what is practicable. To avoid *all* contact with slavery, we must needs go out of the world. Will this justify us in passing by a store where we can obtain the products of honesty, to go into one to purchase the fruits of our brother's oppression? We may not avoid *all* contact with unrighteousness, by purchasing at stores of honest repute. Will this justify us in dealing with the man whom we know to be in the constant practice of receiving stolen goods?

Let us solemnly consider the subject, and act so that the avenger of the poor may not require our brother's blood at our hands.

HENRY GREW.

For the Non-Slaveholder.

FRIEND WM. J. ALLINSON.—In noticing the remarks of E. L., in the 11th number of the Non-Slaveholder, it has appeared to me that his position demands some further examination.

The instance referred to, of releasing a recaptured fugitive, by purchase, it seems to me is not in point—is not a case parallel with that of petitioning Congress to pass a law to remunerate such Slaveholders, as may choose to set their Slaves free. We may be entirely excusable in throwing down our purse to the highwayman, who threatens our lives if we do not deliver it up; but in my opinion it would be far different to ask for a law granting him the money or property he would otherwise take by force *on his own responsibility*. Those who petitioned for the enactment of a law, most assuredly sanction that law, should it be enacted; hence it is evident there is just as much difference between the two cases our friend makes parallel, as there is between *suffering* wrong and *legalizing* wrong.

Now, as it is admitted, that the possessors of Slaves are under moral obligation "to grant *immediate* and *unqualified* emancipation" to them, can we suppose a law would be just and right, which holds out an inducement to do it for *compensation* only? which virtually contradicts the idea of their being under any moral obligation whatever so to do? What, I would ask, must be its effect? I take it for granted, however, that it will be conceded, that the law in itself, would be unjust; but that it will be said it is necessary, under the circumstances; and that the object to be attained warrants it. This, I apprehend, is the point between us. Can we innocently support, nay more, advocate the passage of such a law? Has it become necessary in this age of the world to "do evil that good may come?" I

have believed, and still do, that the great moral Governor of the Universe has not, in His infinite wisdom and divine economy, so ordered, that the advocacy of any wrong or unjust measure, should be necessary for the promotion of His righteous cause, or the good of his creature Man. And entertaining this view, I certainly believe, if Congress would pass a law recognizing the justice of the claim of all who should be set free, to fair and equitable wages for the time they had served, it would have a far better effect than the law proposed for the remuneration of Slaveholders.

The object of all law and government, divinely recognized, according to the apostolic definition, is the punishment of evil doers and the praise of them that do well. The law proposed, would certainly be very near the exact reverse of this, in its operation. At any rate, I am sure it would mete out no punishment to those evil doers, whose darling system embraces the "sum of all villainies," in taking care that they should not suffer pecuniarily, when they should leave off their crimes, in consequence of having committed them. If we may, "with due regard to principles of universal righteousness" enact a law to pay the Slaveholder for the relinquishment of his grasp upon his fellow man, why not apply the same rule in every other case of crime?—Why not pass a law to pay the counterfeiter for all he would lose by becoming an honest man, as an inducement to him to forego his knavery?—Can any one tell? Can our friend? It would certainly, in my opinion, be as likely to succeed in the latter, as in the former case; because, if men have no conscientious scruples against Slaveholding, and believe it to be a money making business, why should they take a "moderate" valuation for their Slaves, when they think money is to be made at the business, even when they bear a *high* price? But if they have those scruples, the remuneration is uncalled for, because then they will not hold them anyhow. In this light I think we may see that it is our duty to pass such laws, and advocate such principles and measures only, as are calculated to strengthen every conscientious scruple in the minds of the people, against any connivance whatever at this wicked scheme, and that this is the best way; the speediest way to effect the object, and the only consistent way for us to act. Our friend, perhaps, in his first article, gave as one reason for his policy, that if one of the Slave States could be freed from Slavery by the purchase of its Slaves, it would afford an opportunity to show to the others, the advantages of freedom, and thus, much good might result therefrom. I ask, have not these advantages been as clearly exhibited in the contrast existing between the already contiguous free and Slave States, as possibly could be? If there is anything that can be made of it, we have all opportunity, by making the masses acquainted with the facts.

A few words in reply to the remarks of P. L. A. That we, the people of the United States, "are verily guilty concerning our brother" of African descent, I readily admit, but that any have been enriched by Slavery is a matter altogether questionable. Had we a complete table of statistics showing the result of the trade between the North and South, and the losses the former has sustained by its intercourse with the latter, it would be almost astounding. In a very short time, a few years back, the town of Lynn, Mass., alone lost about 3,000,000 of dollars in this way. A vast sum is annually taken out of the pockets of the non-slaveholders of the North to pay for the transportation of letters and papers to these "only sufferers among the more numerous offenders," in the matter! The whole system of diplomacy, conducted as it has been for a long time by the Slaveholders, has been such as to regulate the duties in a way to protect their own interests at the expense of the North, and to draw from it, the expenses in a great degree, of the general government, and relieve themselves of the burden. If there has been any money made by Slavery, the Slave holders have been the alone receivers; if not, why pay them to rid themselves of a nuisance? I repeat, the Slaveholders have lost nothing by our intercourse with them, far from it; even "honor among thieves," would not give them anything. They have always taken the lion's share, they have compelled their fellow men to work for nothing, obtaining as they no doubt think, many times the amount of the money they paid for them, while we pay our laborers for all they do. But I admit that the Slave has suffered by our alliance with his oppressor—he has been the great and principal sufferer. And, if we have heretofore been partners in a firm of "thieves," and now propose to become *honest*, I think we should act *honestly*, and if we are not willing to come up to Zacheus' standard of "restoring four fold" to those we have defrauded, we should be willing to restore what we have taken at least. Let them be the objects of our sympathy and commiseration, instead of taking pity on those who have revelled in idleness on the unrequited toil of their fellow men, when they may conclude to cease.

W. E.

For the Non-Slaveholder.

"TIS ALMOST NIGHT."

A beautiful little girl between two and three years of age, the only child of a missionary in the East Indies, was attacked by the jungle fever, and in a few days her case was declared by the physicians to be hopeless. Having been taught, from very early infancy, to repeat a short prayer every morning and evening, as her strength ebbed rapidly away and her sight grew dim, she naturally supposed the hour of rest drew nigh. Claspings her tiny hands, in a faint but earnest voice she began—

"Now I lay me down to sleep,

I pray the Lord my soul to keep—"

and gently breathed forth her soul into the keeping of Him who has declared, "of such is the kingdom of Heaven."

By a dying infant's bed,
Sadly were her parents weeping;
While above her sinking head,
Guardian angels watch were keeping.

In a distant tropic land
With the dark-browed Hindoo dwelling,
Had her father joined the band
Jesus' love to pagans telling.

Far away from native soil,
Far from scenes of early childhood,
For his Master did he toil
In the lonely jungle wildwood.

But when evening brought repose,
Heart felt praises up to Heaven,
From that humble cot arose.
For the daily blessings given.

For the friends they once had left,
Far away beyond the water;
For the boon of health, and gift
Of a darling, only daughter.

In her parents' arms entwined,
She was all their earthly treasure,
And her early dawning mind
Filled their souls with purest pleasure.

Gentle—tender as a bird,
Her blue eye with love was gleaming,
And, by lively fancy stirred,
All her face with thought was beaming.

By her mother's pious care,
Oft as came her time for slumbers,
Breathed she forth her little prayer,
Lisp'd in faltering infant numbers.

But the loveliest scene will fade.—
In the distant skies are swelling
Clouds that darken, by their shade,
Sunshine in each earthly dwelling,

When the heated noontide air,
From the poisoned forests springing,
O'er the landscape wide and fair,
Fell disease and death was flinging.

Ere three summer suns had rolled,
Swiftly in their course returning,
Brilliant cheek and bright eye told,
Fever in her veins was burning.

As before the autumn gale,
Shrinks the tender summer blossom,
She, when strength began to fail,
Drooped upon her mother's bosom.

Still her breath grew short apace,
And the mists began to gather,
While upon her cherub face,
Shone the image of her Father.

"Mother, dear, 'tis almost night;—
Said the dying babe caressing;
"Now I cannot see the light—
"Mother sweet, thy evening blessing.

"Now I lay me down to sleep,
(And she raised her hands to Heaven)
"I pray the Lord"—'Tis silence deep!
With those words her soul was given!

With that prayer went up her Spirit,
As the morning dew exhaleth,—
Free Salvation to inherit
From a source which never faileth.

Lay her hands upon her bosom!
Leave them clasped, as still in prayer!
Give to Earth Earth's fairest blossom!
God has claimed what is not there!

Weeping Parents dry your eyes,—
Trust her soul with Him who gave it!
Let the ransomed Spirit rise,
Rise to Him who died to save it!

J. C.

THE NON-SLAVEHOLDER.

PHILADELPHIA, FIRST MONTH, 18, 1854.

It is to be supposed that our subscribers and readers are acquainted with the design of this little periodical, and although the opening of a new volume affords an appropriate opportunity for defining our position, we incline rather to let this be apparent in the course pursued. And yet a few words with this object may be serviceable.

Our true purpose is uncompromising antagonism to Slavery. In this we are not restricted to any single idea or mode of testimony against the great national sin, and if we omit to insert many items or to notice many important facts, it must be remembered that our space is small, and that we do not aim at obviating with any of our friends the necessity of other Anti-Slavery Journals.

The phase of Anti-Slavery action which we chiefly aim to illustrate, is indicated by our title and our motto; and we intend, (as heretofore) to keep it prominently in view. This mode of action has been regarded by the Non-Slaveholder, from its commencement, as "elementary."—We have thrown the gauntlet, charging those who *supply the motive* to the purchaser, and through him to the capturer of Slaves, with being the true Slaveholders. Though the charge rebound upon ourselves, we cannot on that account elude the force of the maxim; *Qui facit per alium facit per se.* Remembering our own need of charity, we hope not to be uncharitable toward others, whilst we seek to promote a perfectly consistent and *pure* testimony against the greatest wrong upon which the sun shines.

We are also deeply interested in other moral reforms:—and, when we find occasion and space to do so, we mean to advocate them. We regard it as being within our province to testify against OPPRESSION in its various disguises, even when, with sanctimonious garb, it stands where most emphatically *it ought not*. The cause of TEMPERANCE is unspeakably dear to us, and claims much of our time and effort. To it we mean to devote a portion of the Non-Slaveholder. Believing, with adoring reverence, that whenever we pray to our Father in Heaven,—"THY KINGDOM COME,"—we ask for the extension of the dominion of "THE PRINCE OF PEACE,"—and that all wars and fightings obstruct this kingdom, and spring from lusts that war against the soul,—we consider the cause of PEACE, a subject for advocacy;—and holding that "all revenge is crime" and that human life ought by man to be held inviolable, we intend, as occasion calls for it, to oppose what Whittier has fitly styled "the crime of law"—the unchristian policy of

"staying Murder's hand
By Murder at the Law's command."

We shall also aim at presenting as much variety as may comport with the giving of due prominence to our main subject, by the insertion of

some literary matter. Of the extent to which this may be done to advantage, whilst our readers will differ in opinion, as the responsibility rests with us, we claim the casting vote.

In making up a number of a periodical an editor has to consider many things, the bearing of which will be overlooked by his readers. Let those, for instance, who think the whole space too little for the non-participant idea, reflect that there are some who take and read our paper for the sake of other matter, and that whilst we wish to stir up by way of remembrance those who are already convinced, it is an important object to bring before fresh minds and consciences the consideration of the duty of withholding from Slavery *the motive*.

Although our subscription list is a pretty large one, yet as nearly all are at the extremely low club price, (which can only be remunerative with much extension,) a pecuniary loss has attended the publication of Vol. 1.—Still we have now enlarged the size of our page, adding to each number half a page more of reading matter, and of course increasing the cost of printing.

We trust that volunteer agents will continue and increase their efforts. The work is most neglected in large cities, where persons are accustomed to wait to be called upon for their subscriptions. The low price of our Journal will not admit of the employment of paid Agents. If a few persons, *for the sake of the cause*, would circulate subscription papers in such cities, there is no doubt that hundreds of additional names might be obtained with little labor.

On page 27 of last volume we inserted the Memorial of Samuel Rhoads, Enoch Lewis, Geo. W. Taylor, Abm. L. Pennock, Jasper Cope, Isaac Collins, and Edward Garrett, setting forth the participancy of citizens of Free States, (through their commercial relations with the South) in the profits of Slave Labor, and their consequent partnership in the *great business of Slavery*, and asking of Congress

"The enactment of a law which shall provide that whenever any State, by its Legislature, shall pass an act emancipating the Slaves within its limits, an assessment shall be made by Commissioners appointed under the authority of the Governor of the State, and the President of the U. S. of the loss sustained by Slaveholders individually, and the aggregate amount to be paid into the Treasury of such State for equitable distribution."

This gave rise to a discussion which was conducted, in the Non-Slaveholder temperately, in a good spirit, and with ability, and we would willingly have closed it with the volume, as, in reopening the debate, it must be before a very different audience, and many of our new subscribers may fail to appreciate a controversy, which has already been pretty well exhausted. We wish, however, to treat with entire fairness, correspondents who have at heart the same important objects, and who, whilst appearing to differ a little *in mode*, can appreciate the integrity of

each other. We wish that our friend W. E. could have condensed his remarks into a smaller space, as we have to reject various articles from the present number, solely on account of their length.

And here we would make a general remark to correspondents:—that, however tedious and prolonged our own lucubrations may be, yet, in the writings of others, we are enamoured with the beauty of brevity. We love to receive communications of the right stamp, and of the desired shortness. We have some essays lying on our table which we have repeatedly taken up, to count the lines, and to calculate what space they would occupy, in Long Primer, Bourgeois, or Minion, but were finally obliged to reject them, *because there was too much of a good thing*.

Our "Green Mountain" friend is quite facetious about "the Cotton that Tom picked." We wish that there was no ground for his satire upon

"the Friend so plain and grave
That would not *directly* own a Slave."

We have, however, the comfort of knowing that the *principles* of Quakerism lead to straightforwardness in acting out the testimonies of Truth, and that there are not a few yet preserved who find no willingness to dodge a self-application of the doctrines they profess. As we pursued our meditations on this subject, our fingers began to tingle with the "*cacoethes scribendi*;"—a pen was in our hand, and we found that it had written as follows—

THIS IS THE FRIEND CONSISTENT AND RIGHT.

I knew a Quaker, modest and meek,
Who weighed every word that he deigned to speak,
And he seemed to be always in Godly fear
Lest he might not preserve his conscience clear.

And yet he was brave—and at Duty's call
He was ready to hazard the loss of all.
He could suffer or do as the case might be
To keep from offence his Conscience free.

The views of the World he would oft neglect,
But he treated his Conscience with great respect.
Its smallest scruple he'd pause to weigh,
And its least monition or hint obey.

For he kept his Conscience turned to the Light,—
And so he was sure that his Conscience was right.
There's a Spirit in man—and the Quaker knew
That all its revealings were pure and true.

But any thing mean the Quaker scorned—
And any thing base he hated and spurned—
And what he deemed wrong for himself to do
He'd not do by proxy through me or you.

He would pay his debts like an honest man
To Pompey or Patrick or Tom or Dan:—
And none of his servants white or black
Could charge him with keeping their wages back.

And never a hunted Slave that came
For shelter or alms could put him to shame;

Nor say of his vestment's simple braid
 "I raised that Cotton and never was paid!"

Nor Slave had lien on his sugar or rice,
 He never kept back a part of the price;
 Nor chain nor manacle clanked for him,
 Nor Slave-whip gashed the o'er wearied limb.

There was moral health in the Quaker's tone—
 And moral health on his visage shone.
 He walked with an honest and manly tread
 There was nothing on Earth for the Quaker to dread

He was unembarrassed in princely hall.
 He owed nothing but love, and gave *that* to all.
 To his Maker the Quaker his soul would abase—
 But any man living he'd look in the face.

GENUINENESS OF FREE LABOR GOODS.—It appears to be necessary, in answer to the queries of some new subscribers, briefly to re-state what has been pretty fully explained in our former volume. An extensive supply of Dry Goods and Groceries is kept, (wholesale and retail), at the Free Produce Store in this city, N. W. Corner Cherry and Fifth Sts. These are quite free from the stain of Slavery: the guarantee for which is not merely in the care, conscientiousness and discrimination of the Proprietor of the Establishment, but in the sufficiency of the means employed. In reference to the Groceries, no explanation is called for at present. A list is possessed by said Proprietor, of the names of growers of free Cotton, in Texas, Alabama, Western Tennessee, and Mississippi, who have been visited on their plantations by a confidential Agent. They neither own nor hire Slaves, and hence, (owing to the laws of those States,) the cotton is raised by whites. It is also *ginned* exclusively by free labor. From these planters it is purchased by reliable stationary agents, who, after *ascertaining* that they neither hold nor hire Slaves, require, on delivery of the cotton, a certificate or affirmation of the fact, that this particular parcel of cotton has been raised and ginned entirely by free hands, and by persons who *employ no slaves*.—Moreover, no temptation to deceive is extended in the way of premium or higher price. What little extra expense is charged upon free goods, results from the cost of separate manufacture, and hopes are entertained that even this trifling bar (trifling to those who are conscientious on the subject) to the use of free goods, will be removed. To keep the free cotton *unmixed* in the process of manufacture, an excess thereof is sent to the factory, and the portion at the beginning and end, being mixed with Slave Cotton in the joining (to avoid stopping the machinery) is rejected. But whilst the arrangement is perfect as regards the integrity of the free fabric, it is highly desirable to establish mills to run on free cotton exclusively; and our friend of the Free Produce Store, has made the proposition alluded to by our correspondent W., (and to which we should be glad to see a liberal response) to estab-

lish a Jobbing Mill, and to run it upon a variety of staple articles: the only mode at present seen, to obviate the hazardous necessity of laying in large stocks of articles for which the demand is small. From the store referred to, many Merchants and others, in various States, are furnished with Goods.

FREE LABOR FACTORY.—We invite attention to the article which commences the present number. The object proposed is important. A capital of about \$15,000 thus invested, would, it is believed, enable the Proprietor of the Free Labor Establishment to carry on the business much more to the furtherance of the original design, and to the satisfaction of consumers of Free Produce. We think there are persons enough, who, by loans of various amounts, could, without any inconvenience to themselves, place the Establishment beyond the position of a mere experiment.

DO STATESMAN HAVE HEARTS?—Gerrit Smith, in his speech upon the Ingraham resolutions, happily hits off the idea entertained respecting statesmanship by the sort of politicians whom Salmagundi satirizes: "A candidate for political eminence is like a dead herring which never becomes luminous until it is corrupt." We quote a few passages.

Perhaps, Mr. Speaker, I should not have presumed to rise, had I been duly influenced by what the gentleman from Alabama has just now told us of the characteristics of a statesman. For in that gentleman's esteem, the heart does not enter into the composition of a statesman. With him, the statesman is a creature all head, and no heart. With me on the contrary, the heart is of more account than the head—and that, too, in all the possible circumstances of life, including even the province of statesmanship. A higher authority than the gentleman from Alabama makes more of the heart than of the head. His command, as well upon the statesman as upon every other person, is, "My son, give me thine heart." The heart first, and the head afterwards. The faculties of man drive on but to mischief and ruin, unless the heart be first given to the right and the true.

I find that gentlemen of Alabama agree in their definition of a statesman. Another gentleman from that State [Mr. Phillips,] when reviewing my speech, a fortnight ago, kindly informed me that I am but a sentimentalist, and not a statesman. To use almost precisely his words: "Though I had attained some notoriety in the country as a sentimentalist, I had never risen to the dignity of a statesman." I beg that gentleman to be patient with me. I may yet become the dignified, heartless, frigid, conventional sort of being, that makes up the accepted and current idea of a statesman. They say that Congress is a capital place for making a statesman of one, who is willing to come under the process. They say so, for the reason that Congress is a capital place for getting rid of all sentiment and sympathy, and conscience.

Now, I cannot say that I am very ambitious to have realized, in my own person, the popular idea of a statesman. Nevertheless I beg the gentleman to be patient with me. When I shall have been in Congress a few weeks longer, I may so far have lost my heart, and killed my soul, as to be a candidate for the honors of a statesman. And then the honor-

able gentleman will, no doubt, be willing to take me by his own right hand, and install me into that dignity which he and other statesmen so self-complacently enjoy. * * *

After advocating the resolutions because they rest the justification of Capt. Ingraham on the naked ground of humanity, and after saying many good things which were liable to a salutary home application, Gerrit Smith thus concludes.

Pass these resolutions, Mr. Speaker—pass them promptly and unanimously. By doing so we shall honor humanity and honor ourselves; by doing so we shall rebuke our Government for having taken, three years ago, the diabolical position, that they who rescued their kidnapped, and oppressed, and outraged, and crushed brethren, merit, at the hands of this government, fines and imprisonment.

Pass these resolutions, and you will put the seal of your emphatic condemnation on that diabolical position; and you will cheer the hearts of those who have rescued such poor brethren, and of others who are determined to rescue them whenever they can get the opportunity to do so. Pass these resolutions; and these past and these future rescuers of the most wronged of all men will rejoice in knowing, that upon the principle of these resolutions and upon the principle by which some on this floor have advocated them, they are entitled, not to suffer fines and imprisonment, but to receive gold medals.

WHAT IS YOUR RUM TAX?—Any intelligent man, who would devote himself to answering this question for the community in which he resides, could present astounding facts. *The Prohibitionist*, (a Journal of excellent promise, just started in Albany) gives under the above caption the following extract from *The Miners Journal*, "published in the heart of the coal region."

"Coal is coal just now, and those are esteemed fortunate who can secure any now even as a favor. Outsiders are entirely cut off. Rum has reduced the supply from this region at least one hundred thousand tons this year, which will be the means of enhancing the price of coal at least one dollar per ton in the different markets. So that the rum traffic in this region the present year will probably cost the people abroad nearly one million of dollars in the single item of fuel, and that too without benefitting this region a single iota. *This is worth thinking about, even by those who consider Temperance advocates fanatics and lunatics.*"

The above passage does not fully explain itself. The workmen were formerly paid in orders upon the stores, (a system often allied to oppression) but recently the wages have been paid in cash. Unfortunately a large portion of the laborers are addicted to Intemperance, and *it takes them half their time to spend their wages*. The detriment to themselves and their families is not reducible to an exact calculation.

DAILY NATIONAL ERA.—The weekly of Dr. Bailey, published in our National Capital, established with such moral courage, and conducted with such ability and wisdom, has been crowned with signal success. Dr. Baily has resolved upon a *daily* issue in addition, and to those who have occasion for a daily Washington paper we strongly recommend it. The terms are thus stated.

The *Daily Era* will be issued on a sheet as large as

that of the *Daily Nat. Intelligencer*, on the 2d of Jan. 1854, and daily thereafter until the 1st of Sept. 1854, (or longer should Congress continue in session), at \$5.00 FOR THAT PERIOD; and should the result then warrant, the publication will be resumed on the 1st of December following by the year.

In reference to this enterprise the Tribune says:

"On all moral questions we are sure to find *The Era* on the side of virtue and of human rights; and the independent thinker who may differ from it on any subject, can be sure that he will presently find himself fighting along with it in some other part of the battle. Besides, there is reason to welcome the establishment of a daily paper at Washington, which public patronage is not likely corrupt, or any party to buy up. Success to the undertaking."

HAWORTH WETHERALD.—This valued and lamented friend of the Slave peacefully breathed his last on 7th inst.

For the Youth's Department of the Non-Slaveholder.

This is the Cotton that Tom pickt.—A Parody.

1. THIS is the Cotton that Tom pickt.—
2. THIS is the Fiend that stole the cotton that Tom pickt.
3. THIS is the merchant that paid the fiend,
That stole the Cotton that Tom pickt.
4. THIS is the mill where spun the thread
Out of the cotton that looked so red
In stealing of which the blood was shed
The merchant had bought when he paid the fiend,
That stole the Cotton that Tom pickt.
5. THIS is the loom that wove the cloth
(The feeling child to wear is loth,
Within the mill where spun the thread,
Out of the Cotton that looked so red,
In stealing of which the blood was shed,
The merchant had bought when he paid the fiend
That stole the Cotton that Tom pickt.
6. THIS is the Store where a stock is kept
Of goods of Cotton o'er which Slaves have wept
In its way to the mill when spun the thread
Out of the Cotton that looked so red
In stealing of which the blood was shed,
The merchant had bought where he paid the fiend
That stole the Cotton that Tom pickt.
7. THIS is the dress so bright and gay,
That I mean to wear on my wedding day
That I bought in the Store where a stock is kept
Of goods of Cotton o'er which Slaves have wept
In the way to the mill where spun the thread
Out of the Cotton that looked so red,
In stealing of which the blood was shed
The merchant had bought when he paid the fiend
That stole the Cotton that Tom pickt.
8. THIS is the dollar that goes to pay
For the gala dress so bright and gay,
That I mean to wear on my wedding day.
That I bought in the Store where a stock is kept
Of goods of Cotton o'er which Slaves have wept
In its way to the mill where spun the thread,
Out of the cotton that looked so red,
In stealing of which the blood was shed
The merchant had bought when he paid the fiend
That stole the Cotton that Tom pickt.
9. THIS is the Friend so plain and grave
That would not *directly* own a Slave,
But who the dollar remorseless gave
To his child her plighted word to save,
And this is the dollar she took to pay
For the gala dress so bright and gay,
That she means to wear on her wedding day,
That she bought in the Store where a stock is kept,
Of goods of Cotton o'er which Slaves have wept,
In its way to the mill where spun the thread
Out of the Cotton that looked so red,
In stealing of which the blood was shed,
The merchant had bought when he paid the fiend,
That stole the Cotton that Tom pickt.

GREEN MOUNTAINS.

H. M.

THE NON-SLAVEHOLDER.

"Whoso gives the motive, makes his brother's sin his own."

VOL. II.—NEW SERIES.]

PHILADELPHIA, SECOND MONTH, 1854.

[No. 2.

WILLIAM J. ALLINSON, EDITOR.

PUBLISHED MONTHLY

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AMELIA OPIE.

DIED, on the second of twelfth month, [December,] 1853, at her residence, Castle Meadows, Norwich, England, AMELIA OPIE, in the 86th year of her age.*

She was the only daughter of Dr. JAMES ALDERSON, for many years a resident and eminent Physician in that ancient city, which was not only the birth place of Amelia Opie, but, with the exception of a brief period of married life, her only home. At a very early age she was deprived by death of the care of her Maternal Parent, and, as her Father, at that time, and for many years afterwards, entertained skeptical sentiments on the subject of religion, and of course associated with persons holding similar opinions, her position was a very exposed, and undesirable one; and the absence of female influence in her early training gave a somewhat masculine tone or unfeminine independence to her manner, which was, however, much subdued and softened in maturer life, by the regulating power of the Cross of Christ; and she was always remarkable for the amiability of her temper, the kindness of her disposition, the steadfastness of her friendships, and the tenderness and sincerity of her heart.

At the age of 29 she became the wife of JOHN OPIE, R. A., of Truro, Cornwall, who had recently commenced his career as an Artist (in which he afterwards attained to considerable em-

inence,) and drew forth commendations from Dr. Wolcot, who warmly patronized him, and predicted "that his young friend would turn out one of the greatest Painters the world had ever seen." At this time, Amelia Opie was much admired in fashionable circles in London, to which her husband's professional talents introduced her; and she soon acquired considerable reputation as a novelist. But when she became a widow and returned to her native city, things began to be presented to her in a different light. She was brought into near neighborhood and intimate association with the Gurney family, which no doubt had a very beneficial influence, in turning her attention from the vain and unsatisfying trifles of time, and quickening her pursuit after the enduring riches of Eternity.

"As years rolled on," says the Norfolk News, "they brought with them a change in Mrs. Opie, which astonished the literary and religious world. Many of her former works were, as we have been informed, called in from the publishers, and Mrs. Opie, it was whispered, had forsaken the fashionable world and allied herself with the Society of Friends. Some have attributed this change to any other cause than a conviction of the rightfulness of her new course, and have jeered at the supposed want of ease and comfort with which Mrs. Opie seemed to be oppressed, when first wedded to her new attire, and to habits so at variance with those which had characterized the former part of her life. That the change however, resulted otherwise than than from a sincere conviction of duty is a most gratuitous assumption, as is amply proved by the consistency of all her subsequent conduct, due allowance being of course made for the difficulties with which so vast a change could not be otherwise than accompanied."

No one who was acquainted with the integrity and uprightness of her character, could for a moment doubt that the change which took place in the habits and affections of Amelia Opie, was wrought by the transforming power of the Grace of God, and that the corresponding change in her dress and address, was the result of a sincere conviction of duty. Let us hear the sentiments of one who knew her well, and who had, perhaps, a better opportunity than most, of forming a correct appreciation of her real character.

"Few persons," (said he in a little sketch

* A widow about 46½ years.—Ed.

written in 1837,) had drunk deeper of the cups of fashionable life than Amelia Opie. Admired for her amiability, her talents, and her accomplishments, she was received in London at the houses of many of the nobility, and was, I doubt not, wherever she went, a welcome guest. Such was the condition over which Grace had to triumph: a condition the more unpromising from her having been trained, among the Socinians, to low views of religion. But she gradually discovered that all her vanities, her place in the great world, and her novel-writing, in which her reputation was high, must be laid down at the foot of the Cross of Christ. Convinced of the errors of Unitarianism, and not satisfied with the forms of the Church of England, or of any class of the dissenters, she took refuge in the quietness of our silent meetings, which she attended with much assiduity. In the meantime it was evident that Christ Himself was becoming her home, her peaceful, permanent home; and, by degrees, she became thoroughly convinced of the truth of the principles of Friends. Her friendship with our family appeared to be one principal means allotted, in the order of Providence, for the working of this change. At length came the critical period, when she found herself constrained to make an open profession of Quakerism. Great was her conflict:—I remember her telling me of the agony of her mind, in the view of changing her dress, which had been decidedly worldly and fashionable, and of addressing her numerous friends and acquaintances by their plain names, and with what appeared to her to be the scarcely tolerable simplicity of *Thee* and *Thou*. But her great Master was with her in this time of need; and with remarkable decision and firmness, she made the change at once, and openly declared herself a Quaker. Seldom has a more striking improvement been wrought in any one who has passed under my notice. Truly may it be said, that her endearing qualities have been sanctified, and her *play* of character has not been lost, but has been rendered more interesting, than before, by her change. Every one who knows her, is aware of her truthiness, and appreciates her kindness and good temper; and Quaker as she is, and a determined one, she is still sought after by some of her old friends in high station, by whom she is much beloved.”

In confirmation of this, A. Opie writes herself from Lowther Castle, 9th mo. 29th, 1826.

“I am glad I came, if it were only to be assured of having re-awakened in dear Lady — and in myself, the affectionate feelings of former days—but I am also glad that I go away to-morrow. The kindness I have met with here is truly cordial, and I shall leave Lowther with pleasant and grateful feelings. But what awaits me? A welcome from dear friends in humbler life—in my own sphere—and welcome from and to *my own people*—worth all the grandeur in the world to me.—For, my dear —, I cannot sepa-

rate the principle from the people. I love to be with Friends, because I have unity with their principles. What a refreshment was last first day’s meeting to me! G. B. sent me John Gratton’s Journal, and well-timed it was; for I read it coming to Lowther, and felt it strengthen me, while contemplating the temptations before me. I think I may say that when I retired to rest last night, I did not feel condemned for any thing I had said or done; and yet I had to meet that sneering R...., whom, in former days, I used to shrink from meeting:—but now I feel quite at ease with him, and even *friendly* towards him. Wordsworth is charming, so is Sir G. Beaumont. In short it is a circle of harmony, and I may add of talent. Still, I do long to see the dear friends of Sunderland, and to find myself once again under their quiet roof. I have given thy “*Letter on Christianity*,” to the mother of Elizabeth Smith. She had read the “*Peculiarities*,” and said, ‘I could be a Friend myself, if you would allow me the Sacraments.’

In a letter of an earlier date to the same friend, A. Opie says,—

“Your last was most welcome and truly salutary. With the text to which you refer me, I am quite familiar, and unite in your interpretation of it—“Pure religion and undefiled before God and the Father *is this*—to visit the Fatherless and Widows in their affliction, and KEEP OURSELVES UNSPOTTED FROM THE WORLD. From the ‘real evil’ there is in the fashionable world, I trust I am in no danger—as many circumstances defend me from any temptation to positive crime, and the manner in which I begin my day, enables me to carry with me into the world, feelings and convictions, which must, I firmly believe, make me shrink back with horror from anything in the shape of real evil. No dissipation has yet had power to make me neglect to read the Scriptures every day, or fail to take advantage of every opportunity that has offered itself, of religious conversation with a view of instruction. * * * * I heartily assent to your opinion, that ‘there is in the world much which is not evil in itself, yet has a decided tendency to produce forgetfulness of God, and thus to generate evil indirectly.’ It is against this danger that I feel myself called upon to exert all my powers of resistance, for it is one, by which I feel myself every day liable to be assailed and subdued. Against this assailant I know of no shield so powerful as a devotional spirit, habitually cultivated and exercised, but at the same time, I know of no one so difficult to be preserved in an intercourse with the world, as that intercourse generates one, entirely opposed to it, viz, a *worldly* spirit. However, all I can do, I endeavour to do. I try to keep the ‘devotional spirit,’ by reading the Bible, and such books as are most likely to improve my heart, and regulate my conduct. Yet believe me, I feel, with deep humiliation and self-abhorrence, how

inadequate my best efforts are, to prevent my living without God in the world. The voice of that unerring guide within us, is too apt to be drowned in the noise and clamor of less holy voices, as I know full well from experience. But perhaps there is some security from evil in the consciousness of being in danger."

Eleventh of 2d mo., 1823, she writes:—

"I am truly sorry that my visits to the sick, should have deprived me of the pleasure of thy company at our own house. I therefore write, as I wish to tell thee that we are going on more comfortably, and that my dear Father attributes his present tranquility to thy printed "Letter" [on Christianity,] which he reads, I find, every third day morning, while I am at meeting, and one passage he has nearly gotten by heart."

The origin of the letter here alluded to, is thus interestingly described in J. J. Gurney's autobiography.

"It was about this period (1821) that I became greatly interested in the case of Dr. James Alderson, an eminent physician in Norwich, then an old man of 77 or 78, but still in much vigor as to his intellectual faculties. He was one of those in whom the evil heart of unbelief had long predominated, and whom I had sometimes seen occupying the seat of the scorner. I believed it would be right for me to go and pay him a religious visit, in the character of a gospel minister; but so weak was my faith that it seemed impossible, and I actually did not yield to the impression for a full month. Finding no peace however, on any other terms, I at length called upon him, and, with his daughter's help, induced him to sit down with me in silence. It was an awkward occasion. He was very restless, and my ministration as weak as possible. However, in broken terms, I expressed my sense of the unutterable importance of simple faith in Christ. Some considerable time afterward he was exposed to great personal danger, on his way home from London, in consequence of the horses in the coach running away. He was alarmed. The Lord applied that alarm to the highest purposes, and he suddenly awoke to a painful solicitude respecting the state of his immortal soul. In this condition, he desired his daughter to apply to me for a selection of passages from Scripture on the subject of the *atonement*. O the importance of that only refuge for the awakened sinner! Glad, indeed, was she to embrace the occasion, and I to avail myself of it: and without delay I sat down and wrote the original of my "*Letter to a friend, on the authority, importance and effect of Christianity*." It contained a brief summary of the evidences and doctrines of our holy religion, and especially of the doctrine of *Redemption by Christ*, and pressed the subject home, practically. I anxiously waited the result, and soon found, to my great joy, that it was well received. The doctor placed the

letter under the cushion of his arm chair, and read it frequently. His ever watchful daughter was always at hand to second every good impression. The Bible was read to him from time to time, and in the course of a few weeks, his mind was changed: his opinions, his temper, his heart, had all undergone a revolution; the lion was become the lamb. 'It was the Lord's doing, and marvellous in our eyes.'

"On calling upon him one day, when about to leave Norwich for a short period, I expressed a desire for his preservation in the truth. 'I do assure you,' he replied, 'I have not *one* sceptical feeling left.' He was much afflicted with a painful disease, which he bore with patience, and continued steadfast in the christian's faith, until his death, which took place about two years afterward. Though unhesitating in his belief, he was often in conflict respecting himself, but evidently kept his hold on Jesus. Standing by his bed-side, two or three days before his end, I said 'Ah, doctor, what a comfort it is, that the blood of Jesus Christ cleanseth from all sin.' 'Oh, yes!' he replied, with intense feeling, 'if it were not for that, I know not what would become of me!' After his death, the dignified expression of his countenance reminded us, not of an unbelieving philosopher, but of some veteran Apostle!"

The letter on Christianity was afterwards revised, enlarged, and published, and numerous editions have been printed since. There is, however, an ease and familiarity in the original letters, which give them a peculiar interest.*

Not only was J. J. Gurney instrumental in the divine hand, in turning this aged unbeliever from darkness to light, but it is very evident from letters of Amelia Opie, now in the possession of the writer, that although he was greatly her junior, his plain and faithful dealing, both in his correspondence, and in his personal communications with her, were much blessed to her soul. She often calls him her "Mentor," and desires he will continue his candor and faithfulness, and "make no apology." Her intimacy with his sisters was also a great advantage to her, and for thirty or forty years it might almost be said, she looked upon Earlham Hall as one of her homes: at least she was a frequent and always welcome addition to the cheerful family party assembled there.

The Daily News, says, "she improved greatly

*[These letters,—the originals, in the hand writing of Joseph John Gurney, it has been our privilege to peruse. We regarded them as most precious autographs, and there is in the personal and familiar portions a richness and freshness which gave a delightful insight into the loveliness of the christian character of the writer. The printed letter condensed from these has been read by many thousands, and has been signally blessed in winning souls unto Christ. The writer of them, a dignified and beloved minister of the Gospel, was induced to an unusual degree with the mind of Christ, and remarkably conspicuous in him were those fruits of the Spirit of which the Apostle says, when he enumerates them;—"against such there is no law."—Ed.)

in balance of mind and evenness of spirits, during her long and close intimacy with the Gurneys, and there never was any doubt about her beneficent disposition, shown by her family devotedness, no less than by her bounty to the poor. Her dignified form moved through the narrow streets of the ancient city of Norwich, and her bright face was often seen lighting up the most wretched abodes. That face never lost its brightness, nor the heart its youthfulness and warmth. She was cordially respected, and will be vividly remembered for life, by many who have long forgotten her early fame, or perhaps had never heard of it. She was a striking picture in the childhood of some, who are now elderly, when her stately form was seen half a century ago, among the old elms in her father's garden, and she will ever be a picture in the minds of such young people as saw her seated as erect and upright as ever, but with her crutches behind her, at her sofa table, in her cheerful room on the Castle Meadow, any time within the last few years."

Alluding to her literary labors after she became a Friend, the Norfolk News says—

"These were now directed into a different channel. In the place of novels, she devotes herself to the direct injunction of christian duties, and warns her fellow creatures against the vices into which all are in danger of falling." Hence we have her powerfully written 'Illustrations of Lying,' published in the year 1825, a work which has been thought to be well calculated to make a deep impression on the minds of youthful readers. In 1828 Mrs. Opie published a volume under the title of "Detraction Displayed;" the object of which was, as she said, to expose that most common of all vices, in every rank or class of society, from the peer to the peasant, from the master to the valet, from the mistress to the maid, from the most learned to the most ignorant, from the man of genius to the meanest capacity. In earlier life, she was fond of painting, and has left some excellent portraits of her friends, by her own pencil."*

* DR. CHALMERS, in the year 1833, made a visit to Earham, which he calls "a little paradise," and the varied attractions of which, (attractions which could not fail of being congenial to the truly great and truly good,) drew from him, in a letter to his daughter, the exclamation,— "The breath of heaven is here: without, a scene of beauty that to the eye of sense is altogether delicious—and within, a sanctuary of love and holiness."

He speaks of one of the guests, as 'a lady—now aged, and in Quaker attire, which she had recently put on, and who in early life was one of the most distinguished of our literary women, whose works, thirty years ago, I read with great delight—no less a person than the celebrated Mrs. Opie, authoress of the most exquisite feminine tales, and for which I used to place her by the side of Mrs. Edgeworth. It was curious to myself that, though told by Mr. Gurney in the morning of her being to dine, I had forgotten the circumstance, and the idea of the accomplished novelist and poet was never once suggested by the image of this plain looking Quakeress, till it rushed upon me after dinner, when it suddenly and inconceivably augmented the interest I felt in her. We had much conversation, and drew greatly together, walk-

On the whole, it may be said of Amelia Opie, that she had great versatility of talent, but she was certainly more remarkable for quickness than solidity, for brilliancy than depth: and perhaps her most striking characteristics were, as above suggested, the sprightliness of her disposition, and the kindness of her heart. Her sympathies were readily enlisted in the cause of the oppressed, and being intimately acquainted with Wilberforce, Buxton, &c., she watched their efforts on behalf of these, with deep and heart-felt interest.†

Until within a recent period she had enjoyed an unusual share of health and vigor, but her physical powers gradually failed her, and for some time past she had been confined by lameness to an upstairs room, in her cheerful dwelling, where various classes loved to congregate, for all were sure to meet a smiling welcome. The illness which terminated her life was an extremely painful one, but she submitted to the dispensation with remarkable composure and even cheerfulness. "Not a murmur escaped her." An intimate friend, who visited her a short time before the close, made some allusion to her sufferings, when, looking at her, with a beaming countenance, she sweetly said, "But with Christ in the vessel I smile at the storm;" and then, as if correcting herself, she added, "storm did I say? no, there is no storm—it is all a perfect calm." At another time she asked, "Where is that text, 'He maketh all my bed in my sickness;'" and expressed her grateful sense of the many mercies bestowed upon her. Thus gently and quietly, on the second day of twelfth month, 1853, she fell asleep in Jesus, "whom not having seen, she loved," in whom believing, she now rejoices, as we humbly trust, with joy unspeakable and full of glory.

AMERICAN SLAVERY, ITS CAUSE AND THE REMEDY.

The skilful physician, upon examining a patient and ascertaining the disease, seeks to know *the cause*, and having found the exciting cause or causes, which induces unhealthy action in the system, he directs his efforts to their removal, and nature, when left to her proper influence, will in due time effect a cure.

American Slavery is a national disease. Let ing and talking with each other on the beautiful lawn after dinner. She has had access into all kinds of society, and her conversation is all the more rich and interesting." We quote the above as the spontaneous testimony of a person of highest literary excellence as to the literary standing of Amelia Opie.—[Ed. N. S.]

† Let no one think that the service thus rendered to the oppressed was a slight one. Such women as H. More, A. Opie, and others who might be named, did much to cheer and to assure Clarkson, Wilberforce, Buxton, Gurney and other valiant champions of Truth and Freedom, in their stupendous work of faith and labor of love. For these sympathizing sisters, as well as for those heroic men, was heard the music of breaking fetters and falling chains, and the anthems of praise for deliverance, to the God of Liberty and Love.—[Ed. N. S.]

us direct our attention to the causes which have produced and riveted it upon our nation. Slaves, I believe, were first introduced into America by a Dutch ship, and were purchased by the farmers, in the early settlement of the country, to assist in opening their new lands. Thus it will be seen that it was the *value* of the *labor* of slaves that first induced our forefathers to introduce slavery into the country. That was the *first exciting cause* that brought the disease upon the nation.

But slavery did not greatly spread and darken the face of our fair nation for some time. Two or three historical events contributed greatly to strengthen it, and to fasten it upon the nation. I allude to the invention of the cotton gin by Whitney, and the spindles by Arkwright, and to the admission of Louisiana into the Union. Those inventions, by reducing the amount of *labor* necessary to prepare cotton for market, and by thus lessening its cost, and thereby opening an extensive market for it, made the labor of slaves valuable for producing it; while the increase of territory suitable for making sugar, made the slave-labor valuable for the purpose of supplying the markets of the world with sugar.

The *value* of the *labor* of slaves for these purposes, created an unprecedented demand for slaves, which greatly stimulated both the domestic and foreign slave-trade. It was this which first led to the lucrative but inhuman practice of breeding slaves for market, and which caused southern and southwestern states to be such strong holds of slavery. The *value* of the *labor* of slaves for supplying the demand for rice and tobacco, have also had their effect in fastening slavery upon the nation.

It will thus be seen, that the *value* of the *labor* of slaves was the first exciting cause of slavery, and that the *value* of *labor* strengthened the hold of slavery, and is still its sustaining food. The question then is, what creates this value of labor, and who is responsible therefor? It is not the *demand* for these articles? And are not the *purchasers* and *consumers* responsible?

I believe it is conceded that the great mass of cotton, sugar, rice, and tobacco, grown by American slaves, is consumed by Great Britain and America. Hence it appears, that *anti-slavery Great Britain, and anti-slavery persons in America, are in a great measure accountable for slavery*. In order to remove the disease, let us remove the exciting cause. Let us withdraw this demand. Let Great Britain declare that she will no longer be the cause of slavery, by purchasing the proceeds of the slaves' labor—and let all anti-slavery persons in America declare that they will no longer lend their influence to the support of slavery, by gratifying themselves with the comforts and luxuries of life, at the expense of the downtrodden and defenceless slaves. Then will the cause, the food which supports slavery,

be in a great measure removed, and nature or the laws of trade effect a cure.

If the consumers of these articles enable the slaveholder to sell the labor of slaves, it necessarily follows, that each consumer or purchaser is accountable for his or her acts in this respect, for the amount he or she consumes, and for the effect his or her example may have upon others. For, if a number of persons unitedly commit an evil act, each one is at least accountable for his portion of the offence. If a number of persons unitedly and wilfully commit murder, I believe, that according to common law and in the eye of Supreme Justice, *each* one is held to be a murderer! Would it not then be well for us to consider, whether we by furnishing the demand for the *labor* of slaves, and thus affording the life sustaining food of slavery, will not, in the eye of Supreme Justice, each of us be held to be a slaveholder, and this too, whilst we are denouncing slavery as the "vilest system of iniquity the sun ever shone upon."

Now, fellow christians of all denominations, come with me to the land of slavery. Behold the slave mother, our christian sister. See her husband torn from her embraces, and sold forever into a distant land. See her children, one by one, torn from her arms, and transported she knows not whither. Now behold that inhuman monster in human form, scourging her for not suppressing the natural feelings of a woman's, a wife's, a christian mother's heart. Then let us ask, for what are these dearest family ties broken? An internal voice answers: *To raise cotton for our wardrobes—sugar and rice to supply our tables!!* Do not our hearts sadden at the thought that we are the cause of so much suffering? And when we remember that our Lord has said, "Inasmuch as ye did it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye did it unto Me," will we not exclaim, can it be that we are thus oppressing our Saviour? He died for us all. He suffered for us all. Let us then resolve henceforth to wash our hands of the sin of slavery. Let us cease to use its productions. Let us vote against it. Let us talk, write, preach against it, and let the prayers of our hearts continually ascend to heaven for its overthrow. Let us do this, not merely for fear of punishment that may justly be meted out to us, but from that pure love to God and humanity which should fill the hearts of all christians.

HUMANITAS.

Passages from our Correspondence.

(Continued from page 2.)

MORROW CO. OHIO.—One correspondent sends sixty subscriptions. Another (with 8 subscriptions) writes—I think the cause of Free Produce is gaining ground slowly in these parts, and I sincerely hope that it may so gain, that not an individual bearing the name of Quaker may be found participating in the products of Slavery.

A friend travelling in GEORGIA writes:—"I was grieved to find in our train a negro trader, carrying with us (in forward cars) a lot of living chattels in human shape, mostly women and children—the latter of all sizes from very young infancy. I was informed that they were bought in N. Carolina, and to be taken to Alabama.—Those from 5 to 10 years old appeared to enjoy the novelty of the journey, while the mothers were occupied in caring for the wee ones. 'Tis wonderful how they are adapted to their cruel fate, which very many do not realize. I thought of my friend *Non-Slaveholder*, that he would hardly know how to let such a man pass, in his honest zeal for justice and humanity. I thought with Cowper that 'I had rather be myself the slave' than be that wretched dealer."

RANDOLPH Co. INDIANA.—"A Friend placed in my hands a copy of the N. S., with a request that I would make up eight subscribers. I forthwith send that number of names, and \$2,00,—supposing that the second vol. will be as the first."

VERMILION Co. IOWA.—(with 8 subscriptions.) "I gladly embrace the opportunity of circulating the *Non-Slaveholder* amongst our members. There is an increasing interest here on that subject. Many would gladly purchase free labor goods."

The principal of an important Boarding School in INDIANA, mentions the use of free groceries in the Institution, and forwards the subscriptions of sundry pupils and of a colored domestic.

WAYNE Co. IA.—(with 13 subscriptions.) "I have read every number of the past volume, and have been much pleased with it,—and should not be willing to do without it for twice the price of the paper. It is just such a periodical as the friends of the free produce movement want, and I earnestly hope it will be well sustained."

HENRY Co. IOWA.—(with 24 subscriptions.) "There are many of our citizens here in the far West, who would gladly abstain from slave-grown productions, if a sufficient supply of Free grown could be obtained. Many of us have sacrificed largely rather than purchase the unrequited toil of the Slave. Many are *becoming* awakened to subject, some of whom abstain as much as they can consistently. We yet are in hope for a brighter day."

CHESTER Co. PA.—(with 8 subscriptions.) "I shall be glad to see the N. S. widely circulated and the principles it inculcates more generally understood, and carried out in consistent practice; for I believe the leading idea inculcated to be TRUTH."

JEFFERSON Co. OHIO.—(with 17 subscriptions.) A correspondent whose heart is warm with right zeal, in a valued letter, whilst expressing his approval of our paper, still thinks that "it falls short in size of what would best promote the object in view." We would cheerfully dou-

ble our sheet, if it could be done without *too great* pecuniary sacrifice. Another highly valued friend in a remote State, after some very kind remarks says: "I have a great desire that so needful a periodical may be sustained, and now permit me to suggest the doubling of the amount of reading—then it seems to me that it would be easier getting full subscription lists. It is quite a Yankee notion to buy cheap, and few stop to estimate the great difference in the quality of reading matter. And when your paper shews the reader his own faults instead of other people's it is little marvel if the list be small."—

To all which we must reply that whilst a large amount of reading matter can be furnished for a small price, *where type already set for another publication is used, and an edition of tens of thousands struck off*, a journal the size of ours cannot be published at 25 cents per annum *without actual loss*, unless a large list is obtained of paying subscribers. We have done better than we expected—but not well enough to enlarge our borders,—the size of the present number notwithstanding. A talented authoress writes, earnestly advising us *not to enlarge*, thinking a small sheet more likely to be read.

OTSEGO Co., N. Y.—(8 subscriptions.) The minds of many are turned to the subject, and to enquiring for the way to supply themselves with Dry Goods and Groceries free from the taint of Slavery. The Oberlin paper circulates to some extent through this country, and is, I believe, a great help to the cause.

MERCER Co. N. J.—What unthought of perfidy will be evinced by the passage of Douglas' Nebraska bill! The attempted overthrow of the Missouri Compromise however, and the eager avidity with which the measure is supported by the South, after their almost unbroken assent to it for thirty three years, most forcibly illustrates the futility of a *bare majority* in one Congress settling a disputed moral question 'forever.' Each succeeding Congress is invested with full law making power, untrammelled by the principles and resolves of its predecessors. If the exclusion of Slaves from all territory north of 36° 30' was wrong,—if it was even *inexpedient*,—let the old compromise be repealed! Why bind that vast realm, the home of future millions of our race, by the narrow obsolete notions of the men of 1820, "whose ideas of morality and religion were bounded by the line of thirty-six degrees thirty minutes north latitude?"—Let the patriarchal state be there again renewed. McDuffie, I think, called Slavery 'the corner stone of our republican institutions.'—With national solemnities let the great blessing be secured for Nebraska! Repeal the Missouri Compromise, and let it be distinctly understood that this nation outgrows and cannot wear the baby clothes of its childhood. It is now in its youth: but, in its fast coming maturity, other measures, having

become hateful to the moral sense of our people, will also be overthrown. The Compromise Bills of 1850, the '*finality*' measures which pledged the Government before-hand to admit New Mexico and Utah as Slave States should they desire it, and three or four new Slave States out of Texas,—and which enacted the UNCONSTITUTIONAL* 'Fugitive Slave Bill,' may yet by the enlightened conscience of the Congress of 1860 be expurgated or repealed.

"'FOREVER!'—I used to think this a great while. Should this bill pass,—future lexicographers may give the American meaning of the word:—*The third of a century*—and may cite as authority,—*the Congress of 1854.*"

The same correspondent, not writing for publication, says,—under date of 2d mo. 7th.

"Sad, sad indeed is the intelligence contained in thy letter which I received this evening at our post office. Rarely, in the course of my experience, have I felt such a shock; and in my solitary homeward ride it seemed as though I could not bear the removal of our beloved friend, in the midst of his missionary labors. I thought of his stricken brother,—of their companions in the work,—of various friends in our land who are keenly feeling the stroke, especially—and—and—and—then, in advance of the swift Steamer, I visited in fancy his island home, saw his be-reaved partner and family, his large circle of of warm friends, and even London Yearly Meeting in tears; till the gathering sense of sorrow overpowered me, and I wept. And yet why should we weep that a soldier of the Cross has fallen in his armor in a foreign land? What though the endearments of a fond circle of loving friends were wanting, and even some of the attentions and comforts deemed requisite were absent,—what are these trivial roughnesses of a passed pathway, to that freed ransomed spirit?"

"When we think of what he was and of our loss, we find the well of consolation deep and difficult of access. When we think of what he is, we find it an exhaustless spring.

"Oh what an increased depth of holy interest will the diminished band feel in the work to which they have dedicated themselves, now that he to whom they so much looked, has gone to his everlasting home! In this chastening humbling dispensation, they will, I trust, find a fresh anointing for the service,—and the sympathy which will be awakened in their behalf, will aid in unlocking many hearts."

For the Non-Slaveholder.
FREE LABOR FACTORY.

I was gratified on seeing the proposition of G. W. Taylor, in the preceding number, and that such liberal sums had already been offered toward the establishment of a Free Labor Factory. Although some may reason, that the establishment

of one small manufactory will do but little toward liberating three millions of slaves, it will be the beginning of a system, that may lead to that result. My memory reaches beyond the time, when a cotton factory excited in the United States; and I have often been in the little wool carding-mill, said to have been the first in America. The cotton manufactory had a small and slow beginning, but now, see its extent, and its effects on slavery. Every important measure has had a beginning, and vast results have arisen from beginnings as small as this proposed establishment.

The beginning of Slavery in this country was gradual, and its abolition thus far has been gradual. Although many have long been contending for immediate and unconditional emancipation, we see how little progress they have made. It is very little that man can do in his own will and strength, but the Creator of man, who alone has power in heaven and earth, and who sees the end from the beginning, can, and doubtless will, in his own time, give liberty to the captive, and let the oppressed go free. And although He can do this without the aid of man, yet He has heretofore been pleased to make use of instruments to accomplish his purposes, and doubtless will continue to do so; and in order to become His instruments, I believe that it is necessary for us to endeavor to make our hands clean from the sin we undertake to contend against. And while every individual is thus engaged in purifying himself, his influence and example, will doubtless have an effect on others; hence the testimony will increase and extend; and in order to provide ourselves with the necessities and comforts of life, that are free from Slavery, we shall be under the necessity of resorting to such means as are in our power, to accomplish it; and in doing this, with a single purpose of heart, we become instrumental for good to the poor slave. Thus, if all who profess to be opposed to Slavery should cease from using its products, one factory would do but little in supplying them with cotton goods, and after adopting these views, and undertaking in earnest to put them into practice, it would not be long before they would as soon think of introducing Slavery, as slave-grown produce, and from necessity the Slaveholders would have to change their system for one of free labor; and thus the object would be accomplished—not by our fighting against Slavery, or denouncing Slaveholders, but simply by ceasing to partake of its iniquity.

If the above views are correct, how important it is, that there should be a beginning to a system of free cotton manufacture; and all that is asked to make this beginning, is, for those who see and feel the importance of the movement, and who are blessed with the means, to lend, for a time, a small portion thereof. There is no difficulty in raising large sums of money for objects calculated to promote public, and pecuniary inte-

* So termed by Chief Justice Hornblower and other eminent Jurists.

rests, and for popular benevolent purposes; but I have observed that for objects of this nature, a great reluctance to contribute has often been manifested. While calling upon Slaveholders to give freedom to their Slaves, we cling to the dollars obtained from the fruits of Slavery. I have often thought if non-slaveholders were as liberal as such Slaveholders as are disposed to do right by liberating their Slaves, the era of freedom would be much hastened.

As examples of some of these, I will refer to the recent sailing of the brig Gen. Pierce from Savannah, for Liberia, "with 163 emigrants, of whom 126 were sent by masters now living, 16 were liberated by Will, and 21 were born free."—"Of these emigrants 50 were liberated by Richard Hoff, Esq., of Oglethorpe County, Georgia, who paid \$60 each, for their transportation and support six months in Liberia, in addition to giving them, when they embarked, about \$2,000." Supposing these Slaves to be worth \$500 each, we find that Richard Hoff has in this instance contributed \$30,000, to the cause of freedom.

"It will be remembered," says the Secretary of the American Colonization Society, from whose letter I copy, "that the honorable W. E. Kennedy, of Columbia, Tennessee, sent in the Zebra, from New Orleans, last spring, 26 of his slaves. He sent another company of 29 in the Gen. Pierce, leaving only two with him, who are unwilling to leave him while he lives, but intend to go to Liberia after his death." Thus W. E. Kennedy has on these two occasions contributed \$27,500.

"The most interesting and extraordinary part of this expedition was a family of thirty-eight, consisting of a man and his wife, and their children and-grand children from near Nashville, Tennessee, liberated by Col. Montgomery Bell, a gentleman 85 years old. He gave them every thing requisite as an outfit, and paid us \$2,000 for their transportation and support six months in Liberia. He has a large number more, of whom he wants to send about 80 as soon as we can take them, and is willing to pay one half the expenses of transportation and support, besides giving them a comfortable outfit and paying their expenses to the port of embarkation. These people are the iron men of Tennessee. Mr. Bell has long been known as one of the largest manufacturers of iron, and his Slaves have been his only workmen. They thoroughly understand the business, and have among them miners, colliers, moulders, and are fully competent to build a furnace for making iron and carrying it on themselves. Thomas Scott, the patriarch of the family, is yet a man of great activity and energy of character. He and his whole family entertain the very highest respect and veneration for their late master, and valued friend. His last words to me, as he stood on the deck of the vessel, were, 'Do write a most loving letter to my old master,

and tell him how much we love him, and will never stop thanking the Lord for his goodness to us.'"

Here is a case that must certainly command our admiration and respect. Montgomery Bell, having already made free a family of 38, and doubtless will add 80 more to the number, will thus contribute over \$60,000. Thus three individuals contribute some \$120,000 to the cause of freedom. Who can calculate the benefits that would result to the same cause, by the employment of a like sum in the purchase of free cotton and its manufacture? W.

Correspondence of the Non-Slaveholder.

CARRIBEAN SEA, 12th mo., 28, 1853.

We arrived at Kingston, Jamaica, yesterday morning. * * * * I strolled to the outskirts of the city, and among the now half cultivated grounds and dilapidated buildings of the grandees of Slaveocracy in former days. Many of these buildings, enclosed with massive brick walls, stuccoed with broken glass bottles, and the iron bound entrance gates, reminded one of the insecurity felt by the former inhabitants, and I pictured to myself the alarm of the inmates, whenever the tocsin was sounded during the still hours of night, by the vigilant patrol of the citizens, necessary, peculiarly so, where Slavery exists in its mildest form. The advocates of Slavery think they see in this, coupled with the degradation in this city of 40,000 inhabitants, an argument in favor of its continuance; whereas I arrive at a conclusion diametrically opposite. The trade growing out of the vast production of the staple articles of this Island,—Sugar, Rum and Coffee,—the exportation of the surplus, and the importation of food and clothing stuff, gave employment formerly to much shipping, and afforded to the merchants, storekeepers and others, exchanges of the necessities of existence for the products of the Island, the whole gains of which were drawn, with the aid of hard task masters, from the unrequited labors of the slaves, who under the stimulus of the lash were drawn to perform an amount of labor and production to which the population after tasting of Liberty and inaction are altogether strangers. Subsequent to the final part of the emancipation act being repealed and unconditional liberty substituted, attempts were made to compel the former Slaves, (now freemen,) to labor for a sum altogether inadequate for the subsistence of themselves and their families under the new order of things. The same degree of injustice was attempted to be exercised towards them, by compelling them, if possible, to labor at a rate of wages about equal to what it had cost their former masters to maintain them. Remember too, that, on very many plantations, eviction from their little shanties or gardens, was the resort of the hard-hearted men who still owned and controlled the soil and habitations of their just enfranchized and suffering

fellow beings, notwithstanding the liberal appropriation of the home government of £20,000,000, (\$100,000,000) which was paid, pro rata to the slave owners of the British West Indies, and which saved them from almost universal bankruptcy and ruin. Thanks, from the friends of humanity the world over, to the memory of such men as Clarkson, Wilberforce, Fox, Buxton and others. The leaven of their labor has worked, until this stupendous stride in morals, humanity and goodness has been made in our day; and where, in the morning of our time, was blackness of darkness, light has sprung up. Eight hundred thousand human beings have been released from Cimmerian darkness, and ushered into the glorious light of the gospel. * * * Several large estates, the proprietors of which adopted a liberal system and agreed to pay the wages of freemen to their former Slaves, are still flourishing and productive, paying handsomely;—thus showing how mistaken was the opposite policy of those, who, by refusing to pay a reasonable price for labor, depopulated their lands, and deprived themselves of the power to obtain other laborers. The lands of these are now growing up into a wilderness, and evince ruin to the proprietors, and desolation to the tenants. But who, in the sequel, suffers most? Many of the evicted laborers have been encouraged, by far seeing individuals, who are buying up these abandoned estates for sums comparatively trifling, to take small tracts, (five or ten acres,) with a long time for payment. They build their own dwellings,—fence or wall their plots, and make other permanent improvements;—raise their own provisions, and some little matters to sell or to exchange for foreign articles of consumption. They build school-houses, and houses for worship,—promote education and encourage marriages, which were inadmissible under the slave system. A nucleus is thus forming, in various districts, distant from each other, for a population worthy of protection and encouragement from Great Britain or any other Government;—a population, who, in time to come, will, by the force of example, do much to redeem the vicious and vitiated individuals who have concentrated from the sugar estates to the towns and cities. It must be confessed that real estate in the city of Kingston has depreciated in value: but what does this prove? Nothing—save that fewer people can now be supported in affluence and comparative idleness from the labors of the black population. They now are either prevented from working at all by the perverseness of some of the former owners or those who do labor receive the benefit themselves. Hence the many supernumeraries, who in former times produced nothing by their own efforts, are now cut off from an income, and cannot support themselves in their former luxuriance and extravagance. This will in some degree account for the dilapidation and abandonment of the princely establishments adjoining the town, as well as

for the vicious and abandoned black population therein. * * * L.

UNMERCIFULNESS OF MAN.

It is strange that unmercifulness should be a characteristic sin of man. Among devils, who received no mercy when they fell, it were less out of place. But man is the child and protégé of mercy. He lives and enjoys his probation amid arrested thunderbolts, and storms of wrath rolled back, and caverns of despair closed, and the hushed curses of the law. The rain, and dew, and sunshine of Heaven are descending upon his fields. The birds are piping their sweet notes as they might have done in Eden, and all nature, not veiled in sackcloth, but clad in multifarious glory, waits upon him like a sister. Above all, man lives in the light of glorious and glad revelations, of evangelical and joyful tidings, of living streams of salvation, and of ministering angels, and of voices from the sky, owning him as a younger brother that wandered, but in the far-off land of prodigality found mercy, through the cross, and through that blood that flowed freely as rain drops from the bosom of Jesus—in the midst of these he stands a monument of mercy, himself unmerciful!! Yes, and too often with one hand on the New Testament and the other on his brother's throat, no argument nor art avails to persuade him that in that brother's bosom may beat a heart of higher aspirations, of better purposes, of purer affinities than his own. —*Christian Parlor Magazine.*

A NEGRO BURNED TO DEATH!—The burning of a negro alive near the city of Natchez, an account of which appears in the Natchez Free Trader, is frightful. The slave struck a white man, and the Democracy of that region, not waiting for justice to take its course, inflicted Lynch law. The victim was chained to a tree, faggots were placed around him, while he showed the greatest indifference. When the chivalry had arranged the pile, in reply to a question if he had anything to say, he is reported to have warned all slaves to take example by him, and asked the prayers of those around. He then asked for a drink of water, and after quaffing it said—"Now set fire, I am ready to go in peace." When the flames began to burn him, in his agony he showed gigantic strength, and actually forced the staple from the tree, and bounded from the burning mass! But he instantly fell pierced with rifle balls, and then his body was thrown into the flames and consumed, that nothing might remain to show that such being had ever existed. Nearly four thousand slaves from the neighboring plantations were present as at a moral lesson. Numerous speeches were made by the magistrates and ministers of religion to the slaves, warning them that the same fate awaited them if they proved rebellious to their owners.—*N. Y. Tribune.*

JUAN PLACIDO.

The intelligent reader of Whittier's captivating little volume, "THE STRANGER IN LOWELL," will be glad to know more of the hero of the seventh section, entitled "The Black Man."

Juan Placido was born in slavery, about the year (as we suppose) 1798. His father was a *pardo negro*—(mulatto)—his mother "the offspring of an African and a mulatto union." He was a poet of no mean pretensions, and we have before us (a present from our valued friend, Joseph Sturge) a volume of his poems, with his Autobiography prefixed.

"It is not too much to say of these poems," says Whittier, "that they will bear a comparison with most of the productions of modern Spanish literature. Certain it is, that their author is the only Cuban poet. His style is bold, free, energetic."

At the time of the publication of the poems, Placido was residing at Havanna; and from prudential motives, his name was suppressed by the compiler, R. R. Madden. Such reasons no longer exist. From "*The Stranger in Lowell*," we learn the tragical termination of his career.

The autobiography we now lay before our readers, for its intrinsic value, as a creditable specimen of negro literature, and as evidence that this injured people are capable of higher performances than the raising, by *unrequited* toil, of luxuries to pamper our appetites. Ed.

AUTO-BIOGRAPHY OF THE NEGRO POET.

The Senora Donna Beatrice, the wife of Don Juan M— took a pleasure every time she went to her beautiful estate, the Molino, to make choice of the finest Creole children about the age of ten or eleven years, and carry them to town, where she gave them instruction conformable to their new condition. Her house was always filled with these young slaves instructed in everything necessary to her service. One of the favorite young slaves was Maria M—, my mother, who was greatly esteemed for her intelligence, and her occupation was to wait on the Senora Marquesa of J. in her advanced age. This lady was accustomed when she was pleased with her attendants, to give them their liberty when they were about to marry, if it were with some mechanic likewise free; providing them with all things necessary, as if they had been her own children, without depriving them after their marriage of the favor and protection of her house, which extended even to their children and husbands; of which conduct there are many notable examples, among those who were not even born in her house. Various changes, however, taking place in the service, Maria became the chief waiting-woman of the Marquesa. In this situation she married Toribio de Castro, and in due time, I was ushered into the world.

My master took a fancy to me, and it is said I was more in his arms than in those of my mo-

ther. She had all the privileges of a slave who had acted as a dry-nurse, and also partly as a wet-nurse, *media criandera*; and having married one of the head slaves of the house, and given a little Creole to her mistress, I was called by this lady, "the child of her old age." I was brought up by the side of my mistress without separating from her, except at bed-time, and she never went out without taking me in her volante. With the difference of hours in respect to some, and days in regard to others, I was the contemporary of Don Miguel de C., and also of Don Manuel O'R. now Count of B.; which two families lived in a splendid house, close to the Machina, separated only by doors which divided the apartments; for, in fact, it was two houses made into one.

It would be tedious to detail the particulars of my childhood, treated by my mistress with greater kindness than I deserved, and whom I was accustomed to call "my mother." At six years of age, on account, perhaps, of too much vivacity, more than anything else, I was sent to school to my godmother every day at noon; and every evening I was brought to the house, that my mistress might see me, who seldom went out without seeing me, for if she did, I roared and cried, and so disturbed the house, that sometimes it was necessary to send for the whip, which nobody dared to lay on me, for not even my parents were authorised to flog me, and I knowing this, often took advantage of it. On one occasion, being very bold, my father beat me, but my mistress hearing of it, did not allow him for many days to come into her presence, until he procured the intercession of her Confessor, the father Maya, a Franciscan, and then he was forgiven; after the latter had explained to him that my Senora, as mistress, and my father, as a parent, had each their respective direction of me.

At ten years of age, I learned by heart some of the longest sermons of Father Louis, of Grenada, and the visitors who came to the house on Sundays, used to hear me repeat them when I came from the chapel, whither I was sent with my godmother, to learn how to behave in church; because, although the service was performed every Sunday in the house, I was not permitted to be present, on account of the tricks I might have played with the other children.

I also knew my catechism well, and as much of religion as a woman could teach me.* I knew how to sew tolerably, and to place the furniture in order. On one occasion, I was taken to the Opera, and received some presents for reciting what I heard, but many more for the sermons, and my parents got what I received in the drawing-room.

* Placido may be excused for his inadequate estimate of woman. Happy for those who, blest with pious mothers, evince by their lives the value of a true woman's teachings.—Ed

But passing over much of my early history, in which there was nothing but happiness, I must not omit the circumstances which happened at my baptism; on that occasion, I was dressed in the same robe in which the Senora Donna Beatrice was baptized, which was celebrated with great rejoicings, my father being skilled in music, and playing on the flute and clarionet; and my mistress desiring to solemnize that day with one of her noble traits of generosity, in part liberated my parents by "coartacion," giving them the power at any time of purchasing their liberty at the sum of three hundred dollars each; what greater happiness could be looked for at her hands.

At the age of ten, I was placed under the care of my godfather; having learned something of my father's trade, which was that of a tailor, previously, to being sent to the estate. My mother gave birth to two other children. One of them, for what reason I know not, was made free—and this one died. My father lamenting his death, saying, "if things had been otherwise, I might have been content, my two living children are slaves, and the one that was free is dead;" whereupon my generous mistress had a document prepared, in which it was declared that the next child they should have should be free; and it happened that twins were subsequently born, who are still living, and both were freed. My parents now were removed to the estate of the Molino, where they were placed in charge of the house, and about this period the Marquesa died there. I was sent for in her last illness. I remember little of what happened on my arrival, except being at the bed-side of my mistress with my mother, Donna Joaquina, and the priest, and that her hand rested on my shoulder, while my mother and Donna Joaquina wept a great deal, and spoke about something which I did not understand, and then that I was taken away. Soon after I went to play, and the following morning I saw her stretched on a large bed, and cried, and was carried, down stairs where the other servants were mourning for their mistress; and all night long all the negroes of the estate made great lamentation, repeated the rosary, and I wept with them.

I was taken to the Havana, to my godfather, with whom I soon learned my mistress had left me; for some years I saw nothing of my father. My godfather had taken up his residence in the court-yard of the Count, in the street Inquisidor, where I was accustomed to go about the house, and to leave it when I thought proper, without knowing whether I had a master or not.

But one day, being permitted to go to the house of the Marquesa, to see my old acquaintances there, I knew not what passed there, but when I was about returning to my god-father, and my dear godmother, I was not allowed to go: here I was clothed in a rich livery, with a great deal of gold lace, and what with my fine

clothes, going to the theatres, to tertulias, balls, and places of amusement, I soon forgot my old quiet mode of life, and the kindness even of my godmother herself. After some time I was taken to the house of Donna Joaquina, who treated me like a white child, saw that I was properly clothed, and even combed my hair herself; and as in the time of the Marquesa de J., she allowed me not to pray with the other negro children at church—and at meal time my plate was given to me to eat at the feet of the Senora Marquesa de P., and all this time I was far away from my father and mother.

I had already at the age of twelve years composed some verses in memory, because my godfather did not wish me to learn to write, but I dictated my verses by stealth to a young mulatto girl, of the name of Serafina, which verses were of an amatory character. From this age, I passed on without many changes in my lot to my fourteenth year; but the important part of my history began when I was about eighteen, when fortune's bitterest enmity was turned on me, as we shall see hereafter.

For the slightest crime of boyhood, it was the custom to shut me up in a place for charcoal, for four-and-twenty hours at a time. I was timid in the extreme, and my prison, which still may be seen, was so obscure, that at mid-day no object could be distinguished in it without a candle.—Here after being flogged I was placed, with orders to the slaves, under threats of the greatest punishment, to abstain from giving me a drop of water. What I suffered from hunger and thirst, tormented with fear, in a place so dismal and distant from the house, and almost suffocated with the vapours arising from the common sink, that was close to my dungeon, and constantly terrified by the rats that passed over me and about me, may be easily imagined. My head was filled with frightful fancies, with all the monstrous tales I had ever heard of ghosts and apparitions, and sorcery; and often when a troop of rats would arouse me with their noise, I would imagine I was surrounded by evil spirits, and I would roar aloud and pray for mercy; and then I would be taken out and almost flayed alive, again shut up, and the key taken away, and kept in the room of my mistress, the Senora herself. On two occasions the Senor Don Nicholas and his brother showed me compassion, introducing through an aperture in the door, a morsel of bread and some water, with the aid of a coffee-pot with a long spout. This kind of punishment was so frequent that there was not a week that I did not suffer it twice or thrice, and in the country, on the estate, I suffered a like martyrdom. I attribute the smallness of my stature and the debility of my constitution to the life of suffering I led, from my thirteenth or fourteenth year.

My ordinary crimes were—not to hear the first time I was called; or if at the time of getting a buffet, I uttered a word of complaint; and I led

a life of so much misery, daily receiving blows on the face, that often made the blood spout from my nostrills; no sooner would I hear myself called than I would begin to shiver, so that I could hardly keep on my legs, but supposing this to be only shamming on my part, frequently would I receive from a stout negro lashes in abundance.

About the age of fifteen or sixteen, I was taken to Matanzas once more, and embraced my parents and brothers.

The character, grave, and honorable of my father, and being always in his sight, caused my time to pass a little lighter than before. I did not suffer the horrible and continual scourgings, nor the blows of the hand, that an unfortunate boy is wont to suffer far away from his miserable parents; notwithstanding, my unfortunate cheeks were slapped often enough. We passed five years in Matanzas, where my employment was to sweep clean the house as well as I could at sunrise, before any one in the house was up; this done I had to seat myself at the door of my mistress, that she might find me there when she awoke, then I had to follow her about wherever she went, like an automaton with my arms crossed. When breakfast, or the other meals were over, I had to gather up what was left, and and having to put my hand to clear away the dishes, and when they rose from table I had to walk behind them. Then came the hour of sewing, I had to seat myself in sight of my mistress to sew women's dresses, to make gowns, shifts, robes, pillow-cases, to mark and to hem fine things in cambric, and mend all kinds of clothing.

At the hour of drawing, which a master taught, I was also present, stationed behind a chair, and what I saw done and heard, corrected and explained, put me in the condition of counting myself as one of the pupils of the drawing-class. One of the children, I forget which, gave me an old tablet, and a crayon; and with my face turned to the wall, the next day I sat down in a corner, and began making mouths, eyes, ears, and going on in this way, I came to perfect myself, so that I was able to copy a head so faithfully, that having finished one, my mistress observing me, showed it to the master, who said that I would turn out a great artist, and that it would be for her one day a great satisfaction that I should take the portraits of all my masters.

At night I had to go to sleep at twelve or one o'clock, some ten or twelve squares of buildings distant, where my mother lived (in the negro barracones).^{*} Being extremely timid, it was a serious matter to me to pass to this place in the wettest nights. With these troubles, and other treatment something worse, my character became every day more grave and melancholy, and my only comfort was to fly to the arms of my mother, for my father was of a sterner nature. He

^{*} Yards surrounded with sheds in which the Slaves were shut up at night.

used to be sleeping when my poor mother and my brother Florence waited up for me, till the hour of my arrival.—*To be Continued.*

A NOBLE EXAMPLE.—M. M. and F. T. White of Cincinnati, having inherited eleven Slaves, magnanimously refused the proffered sum of \$10,000 in cash, for them, gave them their liberty, and made arrangements to settle them, as agriculturists, in Indiana.

THE NON-SLAVEHOLDER.

PHILADELPHIA, SECOND MONTH, 18, 1854.

We have doubled the size of present number, to afford room for the valued article respecting AMELIA OPIE, written, and kindly contributed, by one who was for many years her intimate friend and correspondent. We are certain that we thus make an acceptable present to our subscribers, who will have too much taste to object to it as being aside from the main design of our Journal, especially as we give, in addition, *more than our usual amount* of anti-slavery matter.

DECEASE OF WM. FORSTER.—The solemn event which has been permitted by Him in whose sight the death of his saints is precious, has saddened many hearts, and words are too poor to convey our sense of the bereavement to survivors and to the church, and of the perfect peace and unspeakable gain of the loved friend who, though to us his tarriance seemed so needful, has now realized that "to depart and to be with Christ is far better."

WILLIAM FORSTER, long honored and beloved,—whose life from his youth has been a Christian Mission, who in obedience to the Divine voice, traversed seas and continents, pleading with Kings and Rulers, and giving his tender sympathies to their humblest subjects, has now responded to the call,—"come up hither,"—has received the welcome of "Well done good and faithful servant—" and has (we reverently believe) entered into the joy of his Lord.

It is of little matter to the bondman in which particular field of a great plantation, he may feel the fetters stricken from his limbs, and hear the thrilling words "be free." Nor signifies it now to the enfranchised spirit, that home and its endearments were afar, and that, of the thousands who revered and loved him, none, save three proved and faithful brethren stood by when he left his earthly tabernacle for "a house not made with hands, eternal in the Heavens."

The place of his decease was an obscure spot in Tennessee, surrounded by that evil which had so oppressed and grieved his soul—a wrong against humanity—a sin against Him who took on Himself a servant's form. And dying thus, in the midst of his testimony, that testimony, for which he has laid down his life, is thus rendered the more emphatic.

"Fallen while his loins were girded still,
His feet with Zion's dews still wet,
And in his hands retaining yet
The pilgrim's staff and scallop shell."

It is a comfort that although in the domain of slavery, he was also among his own people, and his interment was in a pleasant burying ground of Friends', immediately in front of Newbury Meeting House, at Friendsville.

No subject could be more adapted to the objects of our Journal than a fitting notice of this apostolic man. We hope to furnish a more extended one in a future number.

INCOMPATIBILITY OF WAR WITH THE RELIGION OF JESUS CHRIST. SIGNAL EXTENSION OF DIVINE MERCY TO SOLDIERS.—We were wishing to insert in the present number something illustrative of the unchristian character of War, when an aged and venerated Friend related to us the following anecdote.

During the French and English war some generations ago, a strange scene was observable in the English camp in Normandy. The officers and common soldiers were seized with an unaccountable feeling of solemnity,—and they stood in groups of hundreds together, with gaping mouths and awe-stricken faces. They were brave men, not accustomed to fear—they were flushed with recent victory and had no unusual reason to anticipate coming evil—yet paleness overspread their countenances, and indicated an inward emotion of no ordinary character. During this panic, if such it might be called, one John Haywood, a soldier quite popular in the army, was seized with sudden illness and carried to the hospital. During his sickness the fatal battle of Fontenoy occurred, which was, in fact, a massacre in the two contending armies.* A young man was brought wounded into the hospital and placed on a bed near to Haywood. He was in great mental agony, loudly and continually bewailing his departure from his principles, by which departure he had been brought to this deplorable condition.

Haywood at last called to him—"Young man—you talk of your principles—what are your principles?" He said that he was brought up in the Society of Friends—and again exclaimed bitterly "Oh that I had never departed from my principles!"—"But young man"—repeated Haywood, "what are your principles?" He then explained that the principles of Friends were against wars and fighting, and not to kill but to love their enemies. Conviction of the excellence of these Christian principles was sealed upon Haywood's mind. He recovered and returned to the camp; and, on a day of great parade to the great astonishment of the soldiery, he stepped forward out of his rank, and laid down his gun upon the ground. The amazement was heightened when two others with whom there had been no collusion also stepped forward and laid down their guns.

They were, of course, at once placed under arrest. They understood the consequence involved, and that their lives must be forfeited. Sentence of death was passed upon them by Court Martial. Haywood being generally beloved, was visited and urged to retract, with promises of pardon. He told them that he knew that he must die and he was ready to lay down his life—he was convinced that war was inconsistent with Christianity, and he could not retract.

The case was represented to King George, who gave orders that they should be tested to the very last—but, said he, "God forbid that any man should be put to death for conscience sake under my reign."—The time of execution came—they were led to the ground, their eyes were bandaged, and they were made to kneel.—At the moment when the command to "fire" was due,—their pardon was proclaimed. Haywood afterward narrated, that he was already in heavenly places, and his soul filled with peace and ready to depart. But when the pardon was declared, a great revulsion took place in his feelings, and great conflicts and darkness were his portion.

They returned to England, and here we lose sight of the other two. Haywood sought the People called Quakers, and became an eminent minister among them; and dedicating his life to his gracious Lord who had redeemed it from destruction, he travelled much in the service of Truth, and died in a good old age. A memorial has been preserved of him, but we are not aware that the above anecdote, which was related to us by a valued friend who had it from those who personally knew him, has ever, till now, been committed to writing.

This circumstance not only includes the clear testimony of the Divine Spirit against War,—but illustrates also the kindness and mercy of our gracious Lord to those soldiers, who, torn from their parents, forced into the army without any agency of their own, were made mere tools in the destruction of their fellow men. To these poor men, on the eve of a bloody engagement, a remarkable visitation was extended preparing some of them, perhaps, for the solemn event. In the midst of a camp where levity, dissipation and revelling prevailed, the spectacle was suddenly presented of large groups of such men, standing with the solemnity of worshippers, awed by the unseen presence of the Father of the Spirits of all flesh. The young apostate too, upon his death-bed, mercifully recalled to the principles he had forsaken, was made the means (by Him who works by means) of arresting Haywood in his illness. The soldier also, in mercy called away from the paths of death and made a minister of life and peace,—the other two soldiers, by the direct workings of the Holy Spirit upon their minds, brought to such a knowledge of the Truth that they were willing to yield their natural lives for the testimony's sake,—the Divine protecting

* 1745, loss of each army about 12,000.

care of Providence in delivering his servants, by tendering the heart of a King;—all these lead us to magnify the Divine benevolence, and to exclaim. "Oh that men would praise the Lord for his goodness"—"for his mercy endureth forever!"

JOHN MITCHELL.—His fame might perhaps have survived the violation of his parole;—the breach of honor might have been skillfully concealed and forgotten;—but when he deliberately says, in print,—“We, for our part wish we had a good plantation, well stocked with healthy negroes, in Alabama,”—he extinguishes the sympathies which thousands had cherished for him as an exiled patriot. On this Alexandre Holinski, a Polish refugee, reminds him, that, had the British Government been “sufficiently enterprising” to reduce the Irish population to the state of servitude he now commends, “there would be no more anxious agitation, no more hope of obtaining redress for your religious and political grievances, no more emigration even. Those who desired to seek liberty in America would be advertised, hunted down, thrown into jail, and given up to their owners, upon the arbitrary decision of any inferior judge. They would, then, according to you, be better lodged and better fed than they are now. I will admit this pretended advantage, and I ask your ragged and hungry Irish brethren if they would buy clothes and bread at at the price of their own persons. A thousand times no! would answer all these men, who are worthy of a better fate, if it were only because they aspire, not to the well-fed state of domestic animals, but to well being, with liberty for its first condition.”

John Mitchell sits complacently in his editorial chair and writes,—

“We are not abolitionists—no more abolitionists than Moses or Socrates, or Jesus Christ. We deny that it is a crime, or a wrong, or even a peccadillo, to hold slaves, to buy slaves, to keep slaves to their work by flogging or other needful coercion.” Holinski, (in his admirable letter) after giving him for his inconsistency, such a dressing as might make him wince, rebukes him for his presumptuous comparison of himself.

“Never did Moses, nor Socrates, nor Jesus Christ, sanction, as you have done, the ownership of one man by another.

“The wise Hebrew was pre-eminently an abolitionist, for his time. He found slavery in Egypt, and only permitted it for a term of years. And slavery for a term of years must have been stripped of its most odious features. It was more in the nature of an apprenticeship. You may consult with advantage upon this point, the excellent book of Mr. Barnes.

“Socrates, whose life was a constant struggle to keep down every evil inclination, did never, that I am aware, desire to become a rich slaveholder.

Poverty was a virtue in his eyes, and this feeling could not have made him envy those who lived in luxury on the sweat and blood of another. You would oblige me by showing me some passage in Xenophon or in Plato, where the wisest of Greeks excuses or praises cupidity—the first and most miserable source of tyranny in every shape. If such a passage exists, it has escaped me.

“As to the founder of Christianity, he has generally been proclaimed, and with justice, the greatest of abolitionists. To prove this, it is not necessary to quote many texts: ‘Do unto others as you would that others should do unto you’—‘Love thy neighbor as thyself.’ Is there an oppression upon the earth, call it despotism or slavery, which can exist without a flagrant violation of these two admirable precepts, the epitome of Christianity and of Christian philosophy? Has the Crucified One ever appeared to tell you that the black or the mulatto was not your brother? Or has he ever authorized you to buy, to sell, and to lash the flesh of slaves, when it would seem to you abominable to be bought and sold and subjected to the infamous chastisement yourself? What! Christ, the friend of all the poor, of all the unfortunate, not an abolitionist? Excuse the expression, sir, but this is a blasphemy against truth!

“If you are a Christian, you cannot draw so false a conclusion from the Gospel. If you are only a Catholic, you are guilty of heresy—you are in opposition to the Popes.”

We can make room for but one more extract. “If you care nothing about the Universal Republic; if Ireland alone interests you, you serve her cause badly, believe me, in separating it from that of the other victims of tyranny. You maintain her rights with a bad grace, when you deny the rights of a vast portion of humanity.

“The joy of Ireland at your deliverance will be saddened to find you in open contradiction with her most illustrious patriot. I can hear from the tomb the angry voice of O’Connell, repeating his fine expressions of 1837: ‘We are all children of the same Creator, heirs of the same promise, redeemed by the blood of the same Saviour, no matter to what caste, or color, or faith we may belong.’”

THE NEBRASKA BILL.—We scarcely suppose that any reader of the Non-Slaveholder will need to be awakened to a sense of the nefarious design, the perfidy and falsehood couched in this bill, and in the unprincipled advocacy of it by Douglas and others. Its design is the diabolical one of extending the area of slavery, and the pretence is that the Missouri Compromise (wicked as a whole, and good only in the part which it is now designed to annul,) is abrogated by the compromises of 1850. In this pretence there can be no sincerity, and the men who urge it ought not to be regarded as veritable, or as fit

for the society of humane, honest, truth-loving people.

Were we called upon to designate this bill by some one attribute, we should hesitate to say whether barbarity, mendacity, or audacity predominates. A certain leading commercial paper, is only restrained by the "perfectly knavish character" of the reasoning of the *Washington Union* and the advocates of the measure, from calling it "fool's logic." It is indeed a kind of folly which would hardly depart from its possessor or though you should "bray him in a mortar." Yet when we have heard it openly avowed, and this policy vindicated as "justice to the South," and in itself right, we have wished that such persons might try the experiment of slavery just long enough (and no longer) to clear their vision—to give them a true perception of what is due to human beings. "But," said such a person yesterday, in reply to this wish—"I hope you don't compare niggers to white men!" We do place all human beings on the common platform of humanity, and we do claim for them all the rights which belong to our common nature.

The *N. Y. Evening Post* has some good passages on the subject:

"Among the commercial men who are giving their signatures to the call for a meeting in relation to the threatened repeal of the Missouri compromise, the observation is frequently made, as they set their names to the paper, that a bargain is a bargain, and that if one of the parties to a bargain, having received from the other the consideration stipulated, refuses to do what he promised, he is a rogue. The Nebraska question in the aspect which Mr. Douglas's bill has given to it, is a simple question of moral honesty. A merchant of New York, who should refuse to deliver to a purchaser merchandize for which he had been paid, would never be trusted again. This is mercantile honesty, but if we are to follow the maxims of those who talk of repealing the Missouri compromise, after Missouri has been admitted under it, political honesty is a very different thing."

* * * * *

"The very reasoning employed by these people refutes itself. If the compromises of 1820—the Missouri compromise—is repealed by the compromise of 1850; in that case it is not necessary to repeat it again—in that case the permission to introduce slavery, prompted by Mr. Douglas, is unnecessary. If the compromise of 1850 has annulled the prohibition of slavery in the region once called Louisiana, there is no need of annulling it in the bill for organizing the Nebraska territory. But if it be needful to enact a special law in order to permit slavery to enter Nebraska, then is the Missouri compromise not repealed by the compromise of 1850; and the plain truth of the matter is, that Mr. Douglas and his associates want to make another compromise.

Let us try this question by the ordinary rules of mercantile morality. There are two partners, Mr. Smith and Mr. Jackson, in a mercantile house. For one year they divide equally the profits of their business. The next year Smith is persuaded to relinquish the entire profits to Jackson. After Jackson has pocketed the proceeds of that year, he turns upon Smith and uses the logic of Mr. Douglas and the *Washington Union*, requiring him to refund his share of the profits of the previous year. "By our last compromise," says Jackson, "I was to have all the profits—that was the effective and vital principle of our agreement—I must, therefore, have all the profits of the year before, of which, under a previous agreement, you have taken half. I have here an instrument ready prepared, acknowledging my right to the whole of the profits of the first year as well as the second. Sign it, my friend; it is the only way to 'give permanency and perpetuation' to our last compromise. If you do not sign it, I shall consider you as desirous of fomenting an agitation. What I want, is peace and harmony, and all the profits."

"Strange as such language would seem in a mercantile transaction between man and man, it is precisely the language of the friends of the Nebraska bill. Of course, nobody but one who deserved to be under guardianship for idiocy would listen for a moment to such arguments in an affair of business. Those who use them in support of the Nebraska bill, greatly underrate the intelligence of the people, as, we think, they will yet find to their cost."

THE BURNING OF A NEGRO.—There is a class of citizens who stoutly deny that, except in isolated cases, cruelty is practised upon the slaves. Yet we need not look elsewhere than in Southern pro-slavery papers for abundant instances of horrible barbarity which sicken the soul. The negro, bond or free, male or female, has in fact no real security in some states of the south. No matter what the injury, the outrage or assault, the negro who shall dare to raise his or her hand against a white, is subject to fearful retribution. And the greatest outrage and wrong may be perpetrated upon a negro, in the presence of many credible negroes, and they dare not interfere, nor will their testimony be listened to. In another column we give a shocking narration, much the worst part of which, in our apprehension, is the part performed in this tragedy by the ministers of Religion (so called.) Far be it from us to join in denunciations against the ministers of the Gospel, a class of persons (if genuine and faithful) who are occupied in the noblest work which can engage the powers of man,—but such as these,—who "steal the livery of Heaven" for the service of the foul Fiend, merit the scathing rebukes of Whittier in his "Clerical Oppressors."

"Pilate and Herod, friends!

Chief priests and rulers, as of old, combine!

Just God and holy! is that church which lends
Strength to the spoiler, Thine?

Paid hypocrites, who turn
Judgment aside, and rob the Holy Book
Of those high words of truth which search & burn
In warning and rebuke!

Feed fat, ye locusts, feed!
And, in your tassel'd pulpits, thank the Lord
That, from the toiling bondman's utter need,
Ye pile your own full board.

How long, oh Lord! how long
Shall such a Priesthood barter truth away,
And, in Thy name, for robbery and wrong,
At Thy own altars pray?

* * * * *

Woe, then, to all who grind
Their brethren of a Common Father down!
To all who plunder from the immortal mind
Its bright and glorious crown!

Woe to the Priesthood! woe
To those whose hire is with the price of blood—
Perverting, darkening, changing as they go
The searching truths of God!

Their glory and their might
Shall perish; and their very names shall be
Vile before all the people, in the light
Of A WORLD'S LIBERTY!"

HONESTY IS THE BEST POLICY, says a popular adage, and as an *abstraction* we suppose most people would assent to it. But who is there that really believes it? Not the rumseller, for he thinks it his policy to pursue a business which he knows to be in violation of honest principle. Not the slaveholder, for he knows that nobody can acquire an ownership in him, and that he has no right to hold and to use his fellow beings as property. We deal gently with those who give him *the motive* so to hold and use our brethren and sisters, for we wish them to know their own true position, and to be sure to occupy a right one. We deal gently with them,—for who has been clear enough in this matter to accuse those who stand to day where he stood yesterday?—and our aim is to convince and not to criminate. But does the politician believe it? Do statesmen, legislators, and magistrates believe it? If they did, we might look out for a millennial stride in legislation, for these folk are very desirous to pursue the best *policy*. Suppose that *one more than half* of the members of each House of Congress for ten successive years, should really believe that *honesty is the best policy*:—and suppose, in addition, that a like majority in each State Legislature should be thoroughly impressed with the same belief:—we are inclined to think that a much larger portion of our private citizens would soon be compelled to give their practical assent to the proposition. We are pretty sure that if this were the case, negro slavery

would never be introduced into new territory, and that no slave would ever be publicly burnt to death in Nebraska, for raising his hand against a white man.

But suppose—to make a tremendous supposition—suppose that every professed minister of the Gospel were actually and practically to give in his adhesion to the position that *honesty is the best policy*:—would we know the world we live in after so great a change? Slaveholding ministers, and slaveholding church members, would soon be as few and far between, as fig trees bearing olive berries, or vines yielding figs; and we should not again have to record the hideous spectacle of clergymen assembled to witness a slave burned to death, and to admonish thousands of assembled negroes that, unless they observed due subordination, a similar fate should be theirs.

But ministers there are, and statesmen, magistrates and citizens, who truly hold, and illustrate by their lives, the proverb that, HONESTY IS THE BEST POLICY.

FREE LABOR MANUFACTORY.—By a typographical error in G. W. Taylor's card on the first page of last number, his meaning was obscured. It should have read thus:

"The undersigned will rent the machinery and purchase the cotton, guaranteeing six per cent per annum interest on the whole, and a sum deemed sufficient for wear and tear of machinery,—and will keep it insured against loss by fire, during the term of his lease," &c, &c.

NEW FREE LABOR GOODS.

FOR SPRING SALES.

JUST received, Superior heavy English Shirtings.
Three qualities of Hair Cord Muslins.
Six qualities of Tape Check Muslins.
Swiss Cambric Lawn.
Cambric Handkerchiefs.
Glazed Linings, Slate, Drab, Brown, Black and White.
Fancy Check Gingham, 27 inches—large variety.
Coloured Check Muslin or Gingham Lawn, 27 inches.
Gold and Buff Check Gingham.
Hair Cord Gingham, Lilac, Blue, Pink, Buff, Black.
Check Gingham, Gold, Buff, Green, Blue.
Solid Stripe Gingham, Gold, Buff, Pink, Green, Lilac, Blue.
Men's and Boys' Dress Pant Stuffs.

The stock of Ginghams now on hand is large and well assorted.
GEORGE W. TAYLOR,
1st of 2d mo. 1854. Cor. 5th and Cherry Sts., Philada.

TO OUR READERS AND PATRONS.

In answer to enquiries by some of our friends, the *Publisher* of the Non-Slaveholder would now state, that the first number for 1854 has been purposely delayed in order to secure the advantage of a pretty full quorum of our subscribers to aid in the arrangement of the forwarding book, which being now accomplished, it is intended that the future numbers of the volume shall be mailed promptly in accordance with the date of publication, which has been changed to the *middle of the month* to accommodate the mechanical department. Respectfully,

GEO. W. TAYLOR.

THE

NON-SLAVEHOLDER.

"Whoso gives the motive, makes his brother's sin his own."

VOL. II.—NEW SERIES.]

PHILADELPHIA, THIRD MONTH, 1854.

[No. 3.

WILLIAM J. ALLINSON, EDITOR.

PUBLISHED MONTHLY

BY GEORGE W. TAYLOR,

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JUAN PLACIDO.

(Continued from page 20.)

Some attacks of ague, which nearly ended my days, prevented me from accompanying my mistress to Havana. When I recovered, no one could enjoy himself in two years as I did in four months; I bathed four times a day, and even in the night, I fished, rode on horseback, made excursions into the mountains, ascended the highest hills, eat all kinds of fruit; in short, I enjoyed all the innocent pleasures of youth. In this little epoch I grew stout and lively, but when I returned to my old mode of life, my health broke down again, and I became as I was before.

When I recovered sufficiently, my first destiny was to be a page, as well in Havana as in Matanzas; already I was used to sit up from my earliest years the greatest part of the night, in the city, either at the theatre, or at parties, or in the house of the Marquis M—— H—— and the Senoras C., from which we went out at ten o'clock, and after supper play began, and continued till eleven or twelve; and at Matanzas, on the days appointed, and sometimes not, when they dined at the house of Count J., or in that of Don Juan M., and generally to pass the evening in the house of the Senoras G., in which the most distinguished persons of the town met and played at treillo, malilla, or burro. While my lady played, I could not quit the side of her chair till midnight, when we usually returned to the Molino. If during the tertulia I fell asleep, or went behind the volante, if the lanthorn went out by accident, even as soon as we arrived, the mayoral, or administrador was called up, and I was put for the night in the stocks, and at day-

break I was called to an account, not as a boy; and so much power has sleep over a man, four or five nights seldom passed that I did not fall into the same faults. My poor mother and brothers more than twice sat up waiting for me while I was in confinement, waiting a sorrowful morning. She, all anxiety when I did not come, used sometimes to leave her hut, and approaching the door of the infirmary, which was in front of the place allotted to the men where the stocks were, on the left hand side, at times would find me there; and would call to me, "Juan," and I, sighing, would answer her, and then she would say outside, "Ah, my child!" and then it was she would call on her husband in his grave—for at this time my father was dead. Three times I remember the repetition of this scene, at other times I used to meet my mother seeking me—once above all, a memorable time to me—when the event which follows happened:—

We were returning from the town late one night, when the volante was going very fast, and I was seated as usual, with one hand holding the bar, and having the lanthorn in the other, I fell asleep, and it fell out of my hand; on awaking, I missed the lanthorn, and jumped down to get it, but such was my terror, I was unable to come up with the volante. I followed, well knowing what was to come, but when I came close to the house, I was seized by Don Sylvester, the young mayoral. Leading me to the stocks, we met my mother, who, giving way to the impulses of her heart, came up to complete my misfortunes. On seeing me, she attempted to inquire what I had done, but the mayoral ordered her to be silent, and treated her as one raising a disturbance. Without regard to her entreaties, and being irritated at being called up at that hour, he raised his hand, and struck my mother with the whip. I felt the blow in my own heart! To utter a loud cry, and from a downcast boy, with the timidity of one as meek as a lamb, to become all at once like a raging lion, was a thing of a moment—with all my strength I fell on him with teeth and hands, and it may be imagined how many cuffs, kicks, and blows were given in the struggle that ensued.

My mother and myself were carried off and shut up in the same place; the two twin children were brought to her, while Florence and Fernando were left weeping alone in the hut. Scarcely it dawned, when the mayoral, with two

negroes acting under him, took hold of me and my mother, and led us as victims to the place of sacrifice. I suffered more punishment than was ordered, in consequence of my attack on the mayoral. But who can describe the powers of the laws of nature in mothers? the fault of my mother was, that seeing they were going to kill me, as she thought, she inquired what I had done, and this was sufficient to receive a blow and to be further chastised. At beholding my mother in this situation, for the first time in her life, (she being exempt from work) stripped by the negroes and thrown down to be scourged, overwhelmed with grief and trembling, I asked them to have pity on her for God's sake; but at the sound of the first lash, infuriated like a tiger, I flew at the mayoral, and was near losing my life in his hands; but let us throw a veil over the rest of this doleful scene.—[*To be Continued.*]

Passages from our Correspondence.

(Continued from page 15.)

JEFFERSON CO: OHIO.—“Has it not been a bitter cup to us all, to give up our honored friend Wm. Forster, to lay down to his last rest thus far from his beloved life-partner, his home friends. He has fallen as with a double armor on—a mission of philanthropy, and the mission of the gospel of Christ. He preached Christ most sweetly whilst he was here. Some of our children who were present were much interested in his sermon at ———. His theme was the shortness and uncertainty of time. Again in the evening he spoke most sweetly to a select circle, and to a large company next day, one of whom afterward remarked emphatically, that he seemed too ripe for Heaven to stay long here.

To him the change is doubtless glorious: but the Church is mourning and stripped.”

A correspondent from the far south,—(in such cases we think it best not to give localities) says: “There are *men* in this vicinity, doing business, who can neither read nor write. This is not a fair specimen of the south. In some places there is a good share of intelligence: planters are more wealthy—children better educated—society more aristocratic, and more dissipated. I was recently at a wedding. The bride was quite pretty, but, when she came to sign the certificate, *not being able to write*, she touched the top of the pen while the magistrate wrote the name for her. Most of the beautiful *girls* in this neighborhood *smoke a pipe!*—and nineteen twentieths of the married women do so. The old women here pay great respect to the moon in planting garden seeds, &c. &c. At table, in serving fried meat or boiled, they will enquire,—‘Will you have some of the *fry?*’—‘Will you take a piece of the bile?’”

Rich and poor are alike generally deficient in education, or if they have a competent literary education, be sure they have no domestic one. From personal observation, I am convinced that

in a company of Yankee girls, a Coebs might take the first he came to, and find her in intelligence and moral worth, in literary and domestic education, in gentleness, and in all the characteristics of the true lady, superior to nine out of ten of the southern ladies.

The southerners have a high opinion of ‘the Yankees,’ as they style all from ‘the north:’ and well they may. When they come in contact with them their pockets generally feel it. It is these who take most of the contracts on their railways—who furnish their carriages, steam engines, pianos, &c., (at high prices)—who manufacture their negro shoes and clothing, teach their high schools,—who are their music masters, lawyers, physicians, ministers, master carpenters, &c., and whoever has anything to be done will employ a ‘Yankee’ in preference to a southerner, (supposing them in other respects equal.) Experience has taught them that southern habits and southern education do not develop a business capacity that can compete with that of ‘Yankee land.’” * * *

A CORRESPONDENT WRITING FROM LOUISIANA, says: “This is a cotton growing country, but one of few comforts. Fig trees grow readily from slips, merely staking them in the ground and keeping the cattle from them; yet few have plenty of figs, and nine tenths have none at all. Peaches will do very well here, yet they are by no means plentiful, and the quality is generally inferior. For apples the climate is rather warm, yet by a suitable selection, and by keeping the trees well trimmed, enough for home consumption might easily be raised. But farmers have no apple orchards. Some have four or five trees of natural fruit, which are never trimmed, and the fruit of which the slaves eat when half ripe. They seem to have but two ideas: the one *cotton* and the other ‘*Niggers.*’ They clear land, exhaust it, and then clear more. Thus a planter must own four times as much as he wishes to cultivate at once, and when it is all exhausted, he must abandon his place, buildings and all, and settle a new one. I have endeavored to show them that by plowing in the southern pea, (the clover of the south) all the level land at least, might not only be kept in tillable condition, but actually improved at less cost than the clearing of new land. I have enforced my views by the authority of the Patent Office Report, address of Edmund Ruffin, &c., but many are too ignorant to understand an argument which contemplates the future as well as the present, and the most intelligent are mere routinists in farming. They will cut down great pines, and deaden others, and work hard rolling logs, &c., and then raise an *uncertain* crop of four or five bales for one man, worth \$40 clear per bale, when instead of felling the trees, they might, by properly notching them in three or four places, and collecting the turpentine, make at least twice as much. But ignorance and indolence, twin

sisters, sit brooding upon the hearth stones of the "sunny south." They cloud the brain and palsy the arm; and, while the soil and climate admit of many and varied productions, the golden fruit hangs from the bough, but they reach not their hands to gather it."

The same friend says:

"I think I can demonstrate that slave-labor is generally unprofitable. A good field-hand is now worth \$1500. The interest at 8 per cent is \$120 per annum. Doctor's bills and lost time, including one week at Christmas, say \$15 more. Clothes, say \$15 per annum: expense of overseeing, say \$10 per head: tax about \$5 per head; making \$165 a year,—to which add the gradual and yet final extinction of capital, and the fact that seven northern freemen will, *at most work*, perform as much as ten slaves, and it must be evident that as a mere matter of dollars and cents, it does not pay well."

For the Non-Slaveholder.

BE STRONG IN THE RIGHT.

"He that is not with me is against me: He that gathereth not with me scattereth abroad." This declaration is unchangeably true, when applied to religion—inasmuch as human research has never been able to find a middle ground between approval and disapproval in the Divine sight; and with little exception, the declaration is equally applicable to Slavery. Honest self-examination would prove to us, that we are either countenancing or discountenancing it; either aiding its continuance or its discontinuance.

This system, with its inseparable evils, is so repugnant to the moral feelings of those who have not dwelt immediately under its benumbing influences, that ninety-nine out of a hundred will declare themselves opposed to it; and yet how few are willing practically to make good this declaration by refusing it aid, politically, morally, religiously, commercially.

The Slave system demands non-interference—it demands even silence, under the specious plea that the peace and prosperity of the Church, the Government and the Country require it; and under the cloak of apparent good, the demand has been astonishingly submitted to. The agents of civil government, the church, the commercial interest, have all largely responded to the demand:—not because they really *approved* and loved the system of American Slavery, but because they have not sufficiently *hated* it—because (having never been its victims,) they underrate its enormity, and thus make it a subordinate concern of small account.

And why does the system require silence and concealment from public notice, but because its atrocity will not bear investigation? Why does the powerful instrumentality of pro-slavery newspapers, (made such by political and commercial influences) fill the minds of the

people, with apologies for Slavery and with pro-slavery arguments based upon supposed expediency, but to close the way against partial examination into the wrongs of the Slave, upon principles of morality, christianity, and humanity? These labors have for a great length of time proved alarmingly successful, so that very many who would not willingly be in the wrong, have received from such sources much of their information of the present character and position of Slavery. Yet there is reason to believe that a better and a brighter day, for the unhappy bondman and his oppressor, is in advance. There is a remnant who are, in good earnest, heart and hand, opposed to the barbarous system. The feelings of the people are against it. Yes, we know it to be wrong, and it is clearly true, that the wrong is not without a remedy; and the day cannot be far distant when that kind of logic (suited only to uncivilized ages) which undertakes to prove that slaveholding is not a crime to be repented of and forsaken, will be rejected with disgust. May this day be hastened with a rapidity commensurate to the vast amount of injustice and iniquity embraced in the system.

Fellow Christians, let us make the subject an interesting one. It is superlatively so to the Slave, his all is at stake. And why should it not be so with us? We too have much at stake in the matter. Our profession requires that we do not aid tyranny and oppression, by political, commercial, moral or religious means, but that we should wash our hands in innocence, and "remember those in bonds as bound with them." This will give to the subject an importance, that in its advocacy will enable one to chase a thousand, and two to put ten thousand to flight.

Quaker Hill, 5th of 3d mo. 1854. D. I.

For the Non-Slaveholder.

DO WE CONSIDER?

The query has arisen, do we often enough review mentally the evils of slavery, the sighs and tears that are drawn from its helpless victims, by the rending asunder of the closest ties of relationship,—their hard toils and cruel whippings, which they do not escape, notwithstanding their faithful endeavors to comply with the demands of their cruel taskmasters? It seems to me, were we seriously and frequently to consider these things, we would also consider whether we are endeavoring in any way to advance their liberation, and whether an abstinence from the productions of their unrequited toil would not in some measure, tend to open the eyes of their oppressors. Should we not view those productions as the price of blood, since the slaves are driven under the lash, and their blood daily flows, to produce luxuries for the consumers? Let us then examine whether the amount consumed by each family, or, may I not say by each individual, has not caused the laceration, sighs, and groans of some poor toil-worn slave.

The greater the demand for sugar, cotton, &c., the greater the toil and sufferings of the poor victims of slavery. Although each individual may sometimes reason thus,—“what good can it do for me to refrain from their productions? What I use can have no effect either to increase their toils, or to break their bonds,”—let such remember that many small items swell to a considerable amount, and it is something to feel guiltless of our brother's blood. And while we should endeavor to act so as to be guiltless; we should look upon the slaveholder as our brother, who is deluded by the influences of a wrong education and example, and, remembering that we are by nature frail and erring, remembering too, the power and influence of habit and education, we should not spurn him from us, as unworthy of our regard, but endeavor, in kindness, to convince him of the evils of his practice.

“The oppressor needs a friend,—
Slow to reproach,—*Forbearing in the right,*—
Till God in mercy over him shall bend,
On his dark path to say,—let there Be light!”
Jefferson County, Ohio. M

For the Non-Slaveholder.

USE THE RIGHT SPECTACLES. !

It is difficult to prove a self-evident proposition. That the system of slavery is upheld entirely by the purchase and consumption of its products, seems so plain a statement as to admit of no demonstration. Never have I met with a candid, unprejudiced individual who would not admit, that, if *all* professed abolitionists would abstain from the use of slave-labor products, slavery would inevitably fall. And seldom have I seen a person having little or no interest in such products, who could not perceive the impropriety of their use. But it is difficult to see clearly through the medium of interest. All the arguments adduced in justification of their promiscuous use, resolve themselves into those of expediency.

The heart often *feels* its way where the intellect stumbles. I have just risen from the perusal of the thrilling narrative of Solomon Northup. Here is no labored fiction; but we see faithfully depicted, the stern realities, the terrible facts, the overwhelming enormities of the system of slavery. Again, I resolved, never, knowingly, to partake with the slaveholder, in the gain of oppression. I have been moved often to grief and tears, by the sad records of the dreadful wrongs inflicted upon our colored brother; but never before was my heart so deeply, so painfully oppressed by the monstrous injustice and iniquity of the system.

It seemed to me, that Providence had permitted him to be thus ruthlessly snatched from his home and family, to pass unpitied and alone, his long, painful, and almost hopeless pilgrimage; and finally, in a remarkable manner, rescued him from the grasp of oppression, that he might give us another report from the dark prison-house,

and raise one more warning voice against that dreadful traffic in “slaves and souls of men.” And I remembered the voice of inspiration: “Whoso stoppeth his ears from hearing the cries of the poor, himself shall also cry and shall not be heard.”

Let every abolitionist read that volume, and then ask himself, if, in the eye of impartial justice, he is innocent, while he continues in any way to countenance, or lend the *motive* to that most iniquitous system.

A vast amount of time, talent, and money have been expended by the many friends of the slaves, in disseminating information, purchasing their freedom, or colonizing them in Africa. Let the same amount of genius, funds and time, be devoted to increasing the growth, and of course consumption of Free labor productions, and the days of oppression would soon be numbered.

Who is fully on the side of mercy and justice? Let them be united, and faithful to their individual convictions of duty.

L. T.

Mount Pleasant, Ohio, 2d Mo. 1854.

THE NON-SLAVEHOLDER.

PHILADELPHIA, SECOND MONTH, 18, 1854.

WILLIAM FORSTER.

In our last number, we gave brief expression to our emotions respecting the removal of one who was justly loved and revered by many persons widely separated from each other. With his apostolic form mentally in our view, his solemn truthful, loving tones still lingering in our ear, his *tout ensemble* present to our memory with affecting freshness,—we were unready to pen any thing further than a reference to the event by which the Father of Life conferred upon him in eternal fullness, “the end of his faith,” whilst to survivors was extended a deep sorrow, a profound lesson, a solemn call mingled with blessed consolation.

It is expected of us, and it is due to our subscribers, that we should fulfil the promise which we gave of a further notice of this eminent Christian Philanthropist: and, although space cannot be afforded in this month's number for all that we shall feel bound to say, we do not intend that our readers shall dissent from our opinion that the subject of this article was worthy of responsive love from all men, and of a full tribute from a Journal which is devoted to a testimony against all oppression.

Seldom, perhaps, if ever, has a person been known, who was so sensitive to the wrongs and sufferings of his fellow men, or who was so weighed down by the consideration of them. Literally remembering those in bonds as bound with them, his life has furnished an illustration of the practicability of obedience to this command, which includes so much renunciation of self, and so full an adoption of another blessed precept—

"Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." This fundamental law of love being so incorporated in his system of motives, and his gift of sympathy being thus large, his appeals for the oppressed were beautiful beyond description, and it is difficult to convey or to conceive an adequate idea of the love with which, on the behalf of these, he pleaded with those in authority.

WILLIAM FORSTER, son of William and Elizabeth Forster, was born at Tottenham (near London,) 3d Mo. 23d 1784. Of his parents, who were valued and worthy Friends, we know little, but we may infer much. To have so trained a large family of sons and daughters that they should attain to Christian eminence, and serve their generation according to the will of God, they must themselves have walked in the Divine fear, and realized that better is he that ruleth his spirit, than he that taketh a city. What habits of self-government on the part of parents, what watchfulness, what secret fervent prayers, what circumspect example, and what Godly teachings must have been the *seed sown*, which afterward bore fruit in the matured characters of such men and women!

We have already said that his life, from his youth, has been a Christian mission. Early responding to his heavenly Father's gracious invitation, "My son give me thy heart," he yielded at the age of nineteen, to the call of the Spirit to the public advocacy of Divine truth,—and at the age of twenty-one he was a duly recognized minister of the gospel, in the religious society of Friends. At this time he was aiding his father in the surveying business: but he left all for his Master's work,—was engaged in it, with little intermission, for nearly half a century,—traveled in it extensively,—and has died in it, the unction from the Holy One abiding with him to the end.

In the year 1811, he was extensively engaged in a religious visit to Scotland and the Hebrides, and in that and the following year, he joined our beloved Stephen Grellet in his gospel labors in London, Dublin, and some other places. Of their remarkable labors in New-gate prison, (in which they spent more than a week) it is to be hoped that some Biographer may be able to furnish a particular account. We cannot refrain from noting, that these Friends, after their affecting discoveries in this prison, went to Elizabeth Fry, and enlisted her in the benevolent work, for which she became "world renowned," and in the prosecution of which, the fruits of the Spirit were so conspicuous in her, and her life so shone before men that she was as a city set upon a hill that *that could not be hid*. A meeting in London, for the Jews, appointed by Stephen Grellet, in which W. Forster was his companion, was, we believe, the first Christian meeting held for the Hebrews. At several large public meetings which our friends held in Dublin, W. Forster performed the work of an Evangelist—as

also in visits to some public institutions.

Elizabeth Fry, who knew his humble dedicated walk from youth to age, in her memoranda speaks of Wm. Forster as having been an instrument of much good to her. In the year 1814, they were associated in visiting the families of Kingston Monthly Meeting. So abundant were his labors as a minister of Christ, that we cannot hope to trace out and enumerate a moiety of the services upon which he entered. In common with our readers, we must wait for the appearance of a memoir worthy of a career like his, and which, we hope, will not be withheld by his family and friends.

In the 5th Mo. 1819, he spread with great humility, before the Yearly Meeting of London a concern to make a religious visit to this land. A solemn silence reigned in that dignified and truly Christian assembly, in which those spiritually minded fathers and mothers in the church, sought to know "the mind of the spirit," which, as the Apostle declares, "searcheth all things, even the deep things of God." And strikingly was the whole body brought, in the true unity of the Spirit, to recognize the genuineness of the call which had been extended to this beloved disciple. The dear companion of his life, (as one who was present* testified) spoke beautifully and with power, declaring the goodness and mercy of the Lord which had hitherto followed them, and expressed her strong desire that her beloved husband might be upheld, comforted, and encouraged. The whole meeting seemed affected. Their striking example of submission and resignation, has been edifying and encouraging."

His wife's brother, the noble philanthropist, Thomas Fowell Buxton, wrote to his sister, in reference to this contemplated mission, a letter fraught with a true appreciation of it.

Earlham, January, 1819.

"My dear Sister,

"Your letter has been much upon my mind, and has raised a variety of feelings. The first impression was one of much sorrow, that your plans and prospects of home and happiness should be interrupted, and for so long a time; but I must confess, I have been speedily almost reconciled to it; that is, I have brought it home to my own mind, and have considered, whether it would not really be the greatest of blessings, if by any means my duty would call me to such a sacrifice, and the call were not to be disobeyed. After all, it is a noble thing—it is the noblest of all things—to be permitted to be a servant of the Infinite Ruler of the world; and how low and earthly is that wisdom which could prefer any delights, before the delights of self-dedication. We know but few things for certain; but this is one of them;—a promise is given to him, who leaves father or mother, or wife, or children, for Christ's sake. How can I mourn then, that William should accept the terms of such a

* Priscilla Gurney.

promise? I rejoice that he is counted worthy to suffer for Christ's sake. I have always felt particularly interested with the vision of the man of Macedonia, calling Paul to come over and help them, comparing it with the Epistle to the Philippians. The discouragements at first were so great, and yet the Epistle describes such an abundant and happy produce. Who can tell how many may have eternal reason to rejoice at the obedience of the Apostle; and who can presume to limit the effect, which Providence may please to produce by William's visit? We may differ on some points, but not on this—that his call is from above. I am persuaded it has been sought in the right spirit. I believe it is sent in mercy to others—in eminent mercy to him and to you; and I am willing that you should undergo the pains of separation. But, my dear Anna, you must not imagine I am indifferent about this. * * * With love to you both, and not without thankfulness that there is something of a missionary spirit among you,

"I am,

"Your affectionate brother,

T. F. BUXTON."

In a letter dated 3d Mo. 12th, 1820, from Bradpole, the residence of Wm. Forster, T. F. Buxton writes:

"I came here yesterday, and have had a full opportunity of learning a lesson of humility. It is very well to do good, and to serve one's country, while at the same moment we are feeding our ambition and gratifying our pride: but what are the sacrifices I make? I may call them sacrifices, but their true name is the pleasures I enjoy. Here, however, the pleasures and the sacrifices are totally at variance. How truly and exactly do the words, 'They left all and followed him,' convey my view of William's two years' absence from home, a wife, a boy, the very darlings of his heart, all his wishes and desires centering in this spot! Well, I cannot pity him, I am more inclined to envy one who is wise enough to make a bargain so incontestably good. I went to Meeting with him twice to day: his morning sermon, on 'Trust in the Lord with all thine heart, and lean not unto thine own understanding: in all thy ways acknowledge him, and he shall direct thy paths,' was one of the very best I ever heard. But the text is one particularly interesting to me."—[*To be Continued.*]

BLESSED ARE THE PEACE-MAKERS.—MISSION OF JOSEPH STURGE, &c.—It is among the interesting events of the day, and a pleasing evidence of the continuance among Friends of the missionary spirit, that a deputation from London Meeting for sufferings has proceeded to Petersburg to plead with the Autocrat in behalf of Peace, which cannot be violated without disobedience to Christ's precepts. The deputation consists of our valued friend JOSEPH STURGE, (personally beloved by many of our readers, and

known to most of them as a large hearted Philanthropist)—HENRY PEASE, (brother to John Pease who is justly dear to American Friends) and ROBERT CHARLTON, another unwearied Philanthropist and Christian. These friends have engaged in this mission from an impression of religious duty, and, having spread their feelings before the Society, have received its sanction and encouragement. They are the bearers of an Address, which we have not seen, but from such a source, we cannot doubt that it is replete with christian sentiment. A political Journal, announcing their departure, says:

"Our Quaker friends have, ere this, successfully pleaded the cause of humanity before crowned heads, when diplomacy has been unsuccessful. Perhaps the simple truthfulness of Joseph Sturge may produce more impression than the well reasoned dispatches of Lord Clarendon, or the entreaties of Hamilton Seymour."

On reaching St. Petersburg they had an interview with Count Nesselrode, the Prime Minister, and an assurance of an audience with the Emperor. From Count Nesselrode, with whom, at his request, they left their "Address," they met with extraordinary kindness and sympathy. They subsequently had a full interview with the Emperor Nicholas, who heard them patiently and sympathizingly, expressed entire approbation with the sentiments of the Address, and, on their representation of the inevitable consequences of the war, and of the horrors which had already resulted, was evidently affected. We understand that he pleaded the pressure upon him from without, that his honor was at stake, and that it was not in his power to arrest the war. Be this as it may, we quite believe that he who is styled the AUTOCRAT OF ALL THE RUSSIAS has in reality far less of power than is ascribed to him, and that he is compelled to move in the current of events which he is thought to lead.

Whatever may be the issue, we adore the benevolent Providence which moved our dear friends to this "work of faith and labor of love." We are thankful that the testimony of Truth has been uttered, and we have no fear that it will be in vain, whether we or they ever see the fruit or not. He who appointed the service will take care of the results.

It appears that the murderous hostilities so unhappily commenced, are most unpopular with a large class in Russia. How strange the infatuation by which thousands of people submit to be led to slaughter by the will of mere men like themselves, in a quarrel which concerns them not!

"War is a game, which, were their subjects wise, Kings could not play at."

We are no revolutionists, and would not encourage in any people, an insubordination towards their government: but we should rejoice to see the day when all men would resolve rather to suffer the penalty of human law than to enlist as warriors, in violation of the higher law of Christ.

In the southern part of this Empire, where every man is supposed to be a soldier, there are

numerous religious people who have a testimony against War. Stephen Grellet and William Allen visited these people, and from the biography of the latter and the statements of the former we have accounts of the Malakans, of one of the sects of the Duhobortsi, and of the Mennonists, who hold that a true Christian cannot harbor revenge: and those last named conscientiously refuse to bear arms. The Malakans hold strongly the christian sentiment, that it is better to suffer wrong than to avenge it, and carry it very far in their practice, bearing violence and robbery rather than resort to suits at law. But, gleaning from the sacred volume that they must be subject for conscience sake to Kings and Governors, and that there are no powers but such as are ordained of God, they are puzzled, and whilst they know it to be wrong to fight, they are not so fully enlightened as to perceive that they may yield a passive obedience to the powers which are set over them, by bearing, for Christ's sake, the consequences of refusing to break his law, when the alternative is whether it be right to obey man rather than God.

And here we have to record what appears to us to be most instructive, and calculated to show the Divine condescension to those who, in sincerity, strive to avoid the evil and to adopt the right. "Who is there that shall harm you, if ye be followers of that which is good?"—These persons, being above the common soldiers in mental advancement and integrity, had, at the time when our informant knew them, never been actually engaged in human slaughter. They enlisted as soldiers, but, ere they reached the battle field were taken up and appointed to other services, often to trust and responsibility. Yet, in each successive enlistment, the Malakan left home with heart sorrow—imbued with peace principles, yet thinking his active obedience due to his rulers, and not knowing whether his might not be the first exception to the remarkable exemption from a murderous task.

Such is the care of the Almighty over those to whom he has entrusted sacred truth, and who are obedient to the heavenly vision.

HAVE FAITH IN YOUR PRINCIPLES.—It is a fine thing to be theoretically right,—but it is a noble thing to be practically faithful. Be right in such a manner, that, in the trial hour, men shall not have reason to say that you might just as well have been wrong! We have known many persons with whose real convictions we had perfect sympathy, who, when the crisis called for an out spoken testimony, either were silent,—or else whispered the truth as if they only half believed it,—or else conceded and compromised it away so that honest adversaries could not respect them, and the real champions of the right had to mourn for the faint-heartedness of their friends. Commend us to the man who does not think that discretion requires him, "under the peculiar circumstances of the case," to seem

to side with the wrong in hope that he may thus reserve an influence which will subserve the Truth when Error shall have hanged herself with the rope which he has lent her. In many a case of wide-spread delusion, involving great violations of individual and collective rights, these faint-hearted lovers of the Truth, by their sins of omission, do more to advance the very thing which they abhor, than all the combined efforts of the opposition could have effected, if these had maintained their posts and prevented the very agitation they dreaded by being faithful in season. Where's the use in being right, if you act just as though you were wrong? Have faith in your principles!

FREE LABOR MANUFACTORY.—The proposition of our friend George W. Taylor, on the first page of the current volume, addressed "*to all the friends of the Free Labor movement*," is an important one. It invites subscriptions to a stock of about \$15,000, according to a plan therein set forth, for the establishment and supply of a Jobbing Mill to be run on a variety of staple articles. Wake up friends! Talk to one another about it, and let your conversation be seasoned with what Demosthenes found to be the secret of eloquence: "Action! Action!" Don't be too diffident about these money matters. When Henry Clay failed to obtain the high position for which (it is to be feared) he bartered away so much of virtue and honor,—it was a light thing for politicians to undertake to raise for him a sum equal to the Presidential compensation. The call in this case for pecuniary sacrifice (even if such were involved) is as much higher than the politician's motives, as Duty is above Dollars, as HUMAN RIGHTS are paramount to human ambition, as the Heaven of PRINCIPLE is higher than the earth of selfishness.

The stock is partly filled up—but there is room for you. Shall the enterprise stick fast? Shall one man, already overlaid, be expected to bear all the burden? Where's the Bellman? Wake up!

For the Non-Slaveholder.

WILLIAM FORSTER.

Ah! know ye not, in Israel
A Prince is fallen to day,
A just man, from the ills to come,
In mercy called away?

The Church is clothed in mourning:
Who shall supply her loss?
A standard-bearer's quit the field,
A soldier of the Cross.

On mission high and holy,
He braved the watery main,
And many a faithful heart rejoiced
To welcome him again.

Thrice had the veteran warrior
Nobly forsaken all,

And trod our western wilderness,
Obedient to HIS call

Whose voice he knew from childhood,
And followed where it led,
For "perfect love" reigned over him,
And banished fear and dread.

Meekly, he journeyed onward,
Unmoved by praise or blame,
The mark was always kept in view,
And steady was his aim.

Unfaltering trust in Jesus
Had ever nerved his arm,
He knew HIS shield of love was near,
Protecting him from harm.

Like Paul, he "went from house to house,"
And boldly preached the word:—
And many souls accepting it,
Were gathered to the Lord.

While, from his heart and from his lips,
Wherever he might pass,
Fell gentle benedictions,
As showers upon the grass.

Nor from the galling chains of sin
Alone he sought to free:
However named, the "bondsmen" claimed
His whole souled sympathy.

Bending beneath a weight of care,
A pilgrimage of years,
Before the rulers of the land,
Behold him plead with tears.

For poor down-trodden Africa
He lifts his latest breath,
And with her name upon his lips,
Sinks in the arms of death.

Thoughts of the distant and the loved
Came thronging to his heart,
He felt, 'twere sweet to be with *them*,
Yet sweeter to depart.

"Better to die and be with Christ:"
Were the blest words he said,
Then, in the midst of bonds and chains,
The enfranchized spirit fled.

And in a far off stranger land,
Near Holston's billowy wave,
A voice is calling silently,
From that lone Martyr's grave.

Oppressor, list its meaning,
It is to *thee* it calls,
Ah heed the solemn warning voice,
Before the judgment falls.

It tells thee that a martyr's prayers
Are heard in highest heaven,
That soon the shackles of the Slave
In mercy shall be riven.

God will avenge his own elect,
Who're groaning to be free:

His promises are *sure*—He *will*
Avenge them speedily.

But where will be the Oppressor,
In that soul searching day,
When perfect Truth and Equity
Have undivided sway!

Quailing before the majesty
Of the Omniscient One,
Dealers in "slaves and souls of men,"
Will feel their work is done;

And bowed beneath that "*word of God*,"
Which pierces as a sword,
Call on the rocks to hide them, from
The presence of the Lord.

Hush! mercy's voice is whispering,
"Immanuel died to save":—
And He designs rich fruit shall spring,
From that lone martyr's grave.

FREE LABOR WAREHOUSE.

N. W. CORNER OF FIFTH AND CHERRY STREETS,
PHILADELPHIA.

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Printed at the Gazette Office, Burlington, N. J.

THE NON-SLAVEHOLDER.

"Whoso gives the motive, makes his brother's sin his own."

VOL. II.—NEW SERIES.]

PHILADELPHIA, FOURTH MONTH, 1851.

[No. 4.]

WILLIAM J. ALLINSON, EDITOR.

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JUAN PLACIDO.

(Continued from page 26.)

I said before, that I was like my mistress's lap-dog, since it was my duty to follow her wherever she went, except to her own private rooms, for then I remained outside to prevent any body from going in, receiving any messages, and keeping silence when she was there. One afternoon, I followed her into the garden, where I was set to gather up flowers and transplant some little roots, when the gardener was employed in his occupation there. At the time of leaving the garden, I took unconsciously, a small leaf, one alone of geranium, thinking only of making verses; I was following, with this leaf in my hand, two or three yards behind my mistress, so absent in my mind that I was squeezing the leaf with my fingers to give it greater fragraney. At the entrance at the anti-chamber she turned back, I made room for her, but the smell attracted her attention; full of anger, on a sudden and in a quick tone she asked me "What have you got in your hands?" Motionless and trembling, I drop't the remains of the leaf, and, as if it was a whole plant, for this crime I was struck on the face, and delivered to the care of the overseer, Don Lucas Rodriguez. It was about six o'clock in the afternoon, and in the middle of winter. The volante was ready to go to town, and I was to ride behind; but alas! I was little aware what was to come in the next hour! Instead of riding in the volante, I was

taken to the stocks, which were in a building, formerly an infirmary, and now used for a prison, and for depositing the bodies of the dead till the hour of interment. My feet were put in the stocks, where shivering with cold, without any covering, they shut me in. What a frightful night I passed there! My fancy saw the dead rising and walking about the room, and scrambling up a window above the river and near a cataract, I listened to its roar, which seemed to me like the howling of a legion of ghosts. Scarcely day-light appeared, when I heard the unbolting of the door; a negro came in followed by the overseer wrapt in his cloak; they took me out and put me on a board fixed on a kind of fork, where I saw a bundle of rods. The overseer, from under a handkerchief over his mouth, roared out, "tie him fast;" when my hands were tied behind like a criminal, and my feet secured in an aperture of the board. Oh, my God! Let me not speak of this frightful scene! When I recovered I found myself in the arms of my mother, bathed in tears, and disconsolate, who, at the request of Don Jaime Florido, left me and retired. When my mistress rose next morning, her first care was to inquire whether I was treated as I deserved; and the servant who was waiting on her called me; and she asked, if I would dare to take any more leaves of her geranium? As I could not answer, I was near undergoing the same punishment, but thought to say, no. About eleven o'clock, I became quite dangerously ill: three days was I in this state. My mother used to come to see me in the night-time, when she thought my mistress out. At the sixth day I was out of danger, and could walk about. I met my mother one day, who said to me, "Juan I have got the money to purchase your liberty; as your father is dead, you must act as a father to your brothers; they shall not chastise you any more." My only answer was a flood of tears; she went away and I to my business; but the result of my mother's visit was disappointment: the money was not paid, and I daily expected the time of my liberty, but that time was not destined for many a long year to come.

Some time after, it happened that a carrier brought to the house some chickens, some capons, and a letter, and as I was always on guard like a sentinel, it was my fortune to receive them; leaving the fowls outside, I took in the letter to my mistress, who after reading it, ordered me to

take them to Don Juan Mato their steward, to whom I delivered what I received. Two weeks after this, I was called to an account for one capon missing. I said without hesitating, that I received three capons, and two chickens which I delivered. Nothing more was said of the matter, but the following day I saw the mayoral coming along towards the house, who after talking with my mistress for some time went away again. I served the breakfast, and when I was going to take the first morsel, taking advantage of the moment to eat something, my mistress ordered me to go to the mayoral's house, and tell him—I do not remember what. With sad forebodings, and an oppressed heart, being accustomed to deliver myself up on such occasions, away I went trembling. When I arrived at the door, I saw the mayoral of the Molino, and the mayoral of the Ingenio, together. I delivered my message to the first, who said, "Come in man," I obeyed, and was going to repeat it again, when Senor Dominguez, the mayoral of the Ingenio, took hold of my arm, saying, "it is to me, to whom you are sent;" took out of his pocket a thin rope, tied my hands behind me as a criminal, mounted his horse, and commanded me to run quick before him, to avoid either my mother or my brothers seeing me. Scarcely had I run a mile before the horse, stumbling at every step, when two dogs that were following us, fell upon me; one taking hold of the left side of my face pierced it through, and the other lacerated my left thigh and leg in a shocking manner, which wounds are open yet, notwithstanding it happened twenty-four years ago. The mayoral alighted on the moment, and separated me from their grasp, but my blood flowed profusely, particularly from my leg—he then pulled me by the rope, making use at the same time, of the most disgusting language; this pull partly dislocated my right arm, which at times pains me yet.—Getting up, I walked as well as I could, till we arrived at the Ingenio. They put a rope round my neck, bound up my wounds, and put me in the stocks. At night, all the people of the estate were assembled together and arranged in a line, I was put in the middle of them, the mayoral and six negroes surrounded me, and at the word "upon him," they threw me down; two of them held my hands, two my legs, and the other sat upon my back. They then asked me about the missing capon, and I did not know what to say. Twenty-five lashes were laid on me, they then asked me again to tell the truth. I was perplexed; at last, thinking to escape further punishment, I said, "I stole it." "What have you done with the money?" was the next question, and this was another trying point. "I bought a bat." "Where is it?" "I bought a pair of shoes." "No such thing," and I said so many things to escape punishment, but all to no purpose. Nine successive nights the same scene was repeated, and every night I told a thousand

lies. After the whipping, I was sent to look after the cattle and work in the fields. Every morning my mistress was informed of what I said the previous night.

At the end of ten days, the cause of my punishment being known, Dionisio Copandonga, who was the carrier who brought the fowls, went to the mayoral, and said that the missed capon was eaten by the steward Don Manuel Pipa, and which capon was left behind in a mistake; the cook Simona was examined and confirmed the account. I do not know whether my mistress was made acquainted with this transaction; but certain it is, that since that moment, my punishment ceased, my fetters were taken off, and my work ceased, and a coarse linen dress was put on me. But the same day an accident happened, which contributed much towards my mistress forgiving me.—*To be Continued.*

Starksborough, Vermont, 3d Mo. 23, 1854.

Much esteemed friend, William J. Allinson—

I wish through the columns of the Non-Slaveholder, to call the attention of its readers to the importance of an individual protest against the passage by Congress of the Nebraska or any other bill, the nature of which would be to extend or perpetuate slavery in our professedly republican government, or in the least degree to infringe upon our treaty with the Indians. I would by all means impress upon the women as well as men, the fearful responsibility that rests upon all, and the probable weight of influence attached to lucid appeals from the former.

One important feature of this momentous subject is, that in a republican government it is not expected that individuals rule, but the mass of the people, and that they send men as agents to Washington, to legislate and embody the will or judgment of their constituents, always however in conformity with the professed object of the framers of our excellent Constitution, which was for the benefit of all the people of these United States. Shall we then be silent, when we are assured that our agents enter upon a scheme which if consummated would greatly infringe upon the rights of three large portions of the people, viz: the Non-slaveholders, the colored people, and the Indians; or shall we rise in all our civil and moral power, and speak in language clear and cogent, saying to them, stop your oppressive measures, and do the work for which you were sent. Can we without protest, see our agents perpetrate abuse upon any class and be guiltless? In the little town of Starksborough, a meeting was called irrespective of party, and seven strong resolutions on the Nebraska bill, &c., were unanimously passed. They circulated petitions against the passage of said bill, and obtained and forwarded to James Meacham, our representative in Congress, the signatures of 260 males and 200 females. If all other towns in the free States

should do as much in proportion to their population, Congress would be suitably warned.

Very affectionately thy Friend,

JOEL BATTEY.

WELL-WISHERS.

There is a class of persons professedly favorable to the cause of emancipation, who nevertheless content themselves with vague hopes and wishes for the discontinuance of slavery at some indefinite period, without once attempting to hasten the hour of its approach, by any thing like active exertion. They are perfectly willing that the good work of emancipation should be accomplished—that millions of their fellow creatures should be raised from the miserable condition of beasts of burden, to the rank of men, and useful citizens—provided, only, that such consent involves nothing like personal exertion, no possible inconvenience to themselves, during the process of this transformation. They acknowledge the deep iniquity of the system of slavery, but they act as if the admission of its criminality, instead of being merely prefatory to amendment, was amply sufficient of itself to satisfy all the demands of justice, to silence all the reproaches of conscience. They appear to have one species of justice for their theory, and another, vastly lower in its standard, for actual practice;—or rather, the high and true rules of moral equity by which they mete out justice between themselves, swerve instantly from their even measure, when the rights of their sable brethren are brought into competition with their own convenience, or their prejudices. Certainly, say they, every man has a just and natural right to his own person, and to the control of his own conduct, so long as it interferes not with the well-being of others. Yet should the ancestors of any individual, unfortunately guilty of having been gifted by his Maker with a sable brow, have been violently wrenched in some terrible scene of ruin and conflagration from their native home, and having been dragged to some distant land, there sold into perpetual bondage—then, under such circumstances, the right of the individual to his own flesh and sinews, or of the Creator to the being whom he has made, is superseded and invalidated by the claims of one who hath bought him for money, or received him as a *lawful* inheritance; and, although we regard with horror the idea of trafficking in human flesh, or holding our fellow-men in a state of slavery, yet we would not be so unjust as to wish rashly to deprive the slaveholders of their *property*. We know that the employment of free laborers would be much more advantageous to the planter, but we can convince him of this only by practical experiment; and it is not worth while for us to undergo the expense and inconvenience of obtaining *free articles*, unless every one else *would do the same*. So stands the argument; and so, were it committed to our hands,

would the destinies of the slave stand unaltered for ages, unless some terrible convulsion, like the sudden springing of a mine, should at once tear asunder the bonds of the slave, and overwhelm his master beneath the falling ruins of his wall of opposition.—*E. M. Chandler.*

A TIMELY MOVEMENT.

A call has been issued for a meeting at Worcester, Massachusetts, on the 18th of next month, of persons disposed to emigrate to Southern Nebraska. It is proposed to form a colony of at least one hundred families of farmers and mechanics, "who are in favor of sustaining the principles of the Gospel, and opposed to the extension of Slavery." The call is from a responsible source—from men who are themselves prepared to enter into the movement, and to make personal and pecuniary sacrifices to give it effect.

The end is not yet. As in a beleaguered city, when the outer wall is in danger of being overthrown, an inner one is erected, so the breaking down of the Missouri prohibition may only disclose a wall of free hearts drawn around the threatened territory, against which the dark hosts of Slavery shall be broken like waves on a rock.

J. G. WHITTIER.

THE NON-SLAVEHOLDER.

PHILADELPHIA, FOURTH MONTH, 13, 1854.

WILLIAM FORSTER.

In resuming our notice of this dedicated friend, we are aware that our readers will look for details of his labors on behalf of the slave. They will, however, accord with us, in preferring to trace the various steps of his Christian course, and to note how truly "the path of the just is as a shining light which shineth more and more unto the perfect day."

"He was not," (says a valued Friend who loved him much, and whom for many years he regarded as a sister in the Truth,) "one of the multitude, and there were comparatively few who were capable of taking the measurement of his large and powerful mind; still fewer, probably, who could appreciate the mellowed ripeness of his Christian experience, or the depth of those secret conflicts and exercises of spirit, which often brought him low before the Lord. His native reserve of disposition was a barrier to his forming many intimate friendships, but, to the few whom his heart had singled out in early life, as possessing a kindredship of spirit, he was a steady, faithful, and truly sympathizing friend. Indeed, his gift of sympathy, though not always called into exercise on ordinary occasions, was a very remarkable one. He would give his whole large heart, and tender all his services to a friend in need; and his true brotherly kindness, those who have largely experienced it, can never forget.

"One of the distinguishing features of his

character was, a remarkable native timidity, which contrasted strikingly with his gigantic intellect, and manly, powerful frame. In allusion to his disposition to shrink from general observation, he says, in one of his letters; 'My indulging in this sort of timidity is, I dare say, sometimes liable to be misunderstood, even by my best friends; and thus it is, I can well believe, that I have often deprived myself of intercourse which might have been to my help and comfort.'

"This uncontrollable timidity extended even to the passage through the valley of the shadow of death. He had a constitutional dread of dying, from which he said, at different periods of his life, he had suffered much; but He who is Head over all things to His own Church, our compassionate and holy High Priest, touched with a feeling of the infirmities of His dedicated servant, in mercy smoothed the gradual descent, and shielded him from all the imagined terrors of the closing scene. A veil of unconsciousness was gently drawn over his perceptive faculties, and after a quiet slumber of twenty-four hours' continuance, 'he was not, for God took him.'"

The *Norfolk News* says, in a brief but graphic memoir of WILLIAM FORSTER; "An intimate attachment subsisted between him and Joseph John Gurney, and in many respects they were kindred spirits. We know not on whom the mantle of either may have fallen, but we scarcely expect to see the men who will wear it with equal worthiness. Faithfully did each of them serve his generation, and calmly did the sun of life set on their departing moments." Between these good and noble men, a close and intimate bond of union was formed in the year 1815—a bond of such a nature as not to be interrupted in life, and only to be hallowed and strengthened by the seeming separation of death. We have been allowed the perusal of a few of Wm. Forster's letters to his christian friend and brother, with some extracts from which we propose to enrich our Journal. They will serve as indications of his epistolary style, and will furnish a better insight into the beautiful character of his mind than we could otherwise hope to convey.

In a letter to J. J. Gurney, written at Staines, 8th Mo. 18th, 1815, he says:

"For some days previous to the receipt of thy letter thou hadst been much in my thoughts * * * The remembrance of thee was attended with that indescribably sweet and precious feeling which I take to be a lively sense of the fellowship of the gospel of Christ, and I often recurred with peculiar satisfaction to the few days we passed together in Suffolk and Essex, to our meetings, our conversations, and our readings; but more especially to what I felt, and to what I believe thou felt with me. The last half hour of our last stage is to this day a subject of very grateful reflection. It was one of those

bright spots in my pilgrimage to which I trust I shall always look back with comfort and satisfaction. * * *

"Now I want to tell thee a little about myself, and where I have been for the last few weeks: but I have such a thorough dislike to any thing in myself bordering on egotism (though I fear hardly enough so on a right ground) that I have scarcely courage to begin. But as I value thy sympathy I will try to tell thee a little of the way in which I have been led—of my troubles and rejoicings. When I had got through Barking Monthly Meeting, I was joined by my dear sister R., in a visit to our own members. It took up three or four weeks, and was an engagement as humiliating and mortifying as thou canst readily conceive. I was often plunged into the depths of my infirmities, and laid very low; but I have had to rejoice in these dispensations of Divine Wisdom; for by them the creature was subjected, former experience was forgotten, and having nothing to trust to but the renewing of the Holy Spirit, I was sometimes made glad in Him who is the Resurrection and the Life. When thus permitted to look unto Jesus, the faintest glimpse of His power and glory never failed to afford me comfort and support. From our own Monthly Meeting I came into Longford, where I found Ann Crowley, a humble disciple and truly valuable minister, prepared to unite with me. I left home last First day two weeks, and had a meeting in a barn at Harrow in the evening, on my way to Uxbridge. It was very large. The love and power of Christ were richly and eminently displayed in my view, and I think I never felt more of the consolations of the Gospel dispensed for my own support and encouragement, than while I was traveling alone in my chair that evening: a striking contrast to the fears and doubts that assailed me on my setting out. Such seasons are truly like a brook by the way. If the foretaste be so unutterably glorious, so completely satisfying, what must the fruition be. But we often rise to fall, and sometimes with little hope of being lifted up again. So it was with me. I had to wade under much sensible weakness in our visit to Friends, as we went from house to house, yet I trust the Lord was with us. Blessed be His name, He made His power manifest." He proceeds to mention numerous meetings, some of which were held to his relief in villages where the people were little acquainted with Friends, and, in looking towards the close of his present mission, he says: "How I then may be disposed of I know not, but at present I see no prospect of resting at home. Sometimes I wish for a little respite, but my principal desire is for that state of resignation in which I can feel it to be my daily meat and drink to do the will of my Father which is in Heaven." By subsequent letters of the same year, we find that he was occupied almost without intermission, by gospel

services, holding meetings from day to day, &c., and whilst humbly ministering to others in the ability afforded, experiencing a fuller establishment in the gospel of Christ. Of a large public meeting at Huntingdon he modestly says: "under the prevalence of the love of the Redeemer (or at least what I believe to be such) I was enabled to labor to my own relief, and have left that neighborhood in a good degree of peace. I have just come from a meeting here, in which, after a dark and gloomy day, I met with a little comfort—but I am now ready to sink again. Alas!—what are we, unless upheld by the Divine Power from one hour to another. * * * Thou dost not tell me about Amelia Opie. I was thinking of her the other day, and something of a prayer was formed in my heart for her support and encouragement, that she may be enabled to persevere."

To this endeared brother in Christ (whose greatness of character he had the large mindedness to appreciate,) he wrote with perfect openness, and it is much to be desired that the world may in due time, be benefitted by their entire correspondence. From a letter, dated at Bradpole, 12th Mo. 13th, 1816, we extract some passages.

"My Dearest Joseph,

"It is most pleasant to us to think of thee, and to talk of thee, as we do almost every day, and often to feel thee near to us in such affectionate love as is our happy enjoyment, and I do not know whether these very feelings, so favorable to Christian friendship, and so likely to prompt to a frequent intercourse with those so near to us, have, not in some degree been the means of making me more satisfied with what I have not unfrequently felt to be a reprehensible silence. It has been so satisfying to me to feel that I loved thee, to believe that I enjoyed thy friendship, and that thou continued to retain an interest in me and my cares and comforts, that I have been too much disposed to rest in this sweet enjoyment, not enough considering that unless I took *my part* in the intercourse, there could not be much communication between us." After referring to afflictions in the family of his correspondent, he writes: "It is thus, as it has sometimes appeared to me, that our heavenly Father is pleased to grant to His believing and obedient children a token of his love. He afflicts them and lays them low. He makes them feel their dependence upon Himself. They call upon His name, and then in unutterable mercy He inclines His ear to their cry. He causes the light of His countenance to shine upon them, and they are made abundantly glad in His salvation. Thus I have to believe that, whether he visit us in judgment or in mercy, all His dealings with us are with the same ultimate object in view,—the increase of our acquaintance with Himself, the increase of our love to Him, and our more entire establishment in that faith which would enable us to hold out to the end.

In my earlier days I had many trials. My path in life has, to my own apprehension, been marked with much exercise of faith and filial dependence. Often did I seem to myself a pilgrim on the earth, without any certain dwelling place; and sometimes like one moving round a large circumference without an outward centre. In those days, I reaped the benefit of many sufferings, in being taught to look towards that rest which is in Christ Jesus our Lord, as my ultimate *home*. The principal object of my life was to fulfil what I believed to be the whole will of God, and I scarcely had a wish to be detained a day longer in this world, than to be brought to that day in which I could believe it to be accomplished. But now, in abundant goodness, the case is greatly altered. Blessings, temporal and social, are poured forth in such plenty upon me, the cup of earthly comfort is so full and overflowing, that I am at times seriously alarmed under the conviction of my utter inadequacy to worship the Lord with thanksgiving and praise, or even distinctly to enumerate my blessings. Canst thou realize or comprehend such a state as mine—laden and weighed down with benefits, and scarcely able to lift up thy soul with gratitude to the Father of all thy mercies? Yet even in this I would rejoice, because I am brought to feel my weakness and my poverty; to feel that all my help is in God; that all my springs are in the riches of His bounty and love, and that without His assistance I can neither serve nor worship Him.

"All our friends seem to fancy us very happy in our dear little cottage, and rich in the enjoyment of each others' company, and truly they are not mistaken. Our comforts are almost without alloy—the retirement, (nearly amounting to seclusion) of our allotment, insufferable as it would be to many, gives us an opportunity for rest, such as I little expected ever to enjoy, and in which I feel there is great need of watchfulness and prayer, lest it should have a tendency to settle me down in spiritual indolence and indifference. On my first coming here, I was a little uneasy at being without an object of outward pursuit and attention, though I must say, and thou canst believe me, that to attend to a dear and most affectionate wife, and in every possible way to endeavor to promote her comfort and enjoyment, was a duty and pleasure of all others most satisfying and delightful to me. But I already feel that there was not much need of this anxiety. There is enough for us to do. Our poor neighbors are in the extreme of indigence, and here seems scarcely any one to care for their wants. We have an association formed for the purpose of a stated supply of food during the winter, but there are many little wants which call for our attention, and which it will be our privilege and great enjoyment, in some degree to alleviate."

Nor was his attention to these poor neighbors

restricted to their physical need, their educational and religious wants claiming his warm solicitude.

We find him, after his removal into Norfolk, earnestly associated with his friend J. J. Gurney, in the formation and support of the Norwich Soup and Coal Societies, which still continue their important benefits, and "he took," says the *Norfolk News*, "a deep and uniform interest in the Blind Hospital, the District Visiting Society, and the Norwich and Norfolk Hospital, with the latter of which he was, at different times, officially connected as a member of the Board of Managers."—"There was in fact, scarcely a local charity with which he was not more or less connected."

He made frequent domiciliary visits to the poor, imparting counsel more valuable than direct pecuniary aid, and to encourage economical habits he was active in the establishment of the provident Bedding Association, which was supported by the charity of a few persons, and "supplied many families with comforts otherwise unattainable." This institution was wholly under his own charge.

We have already alluded to his visits to Newgate. The subject of Prison Reform, especially in reference to juvenile offenders, was very near his heart, and in the jail of his own city (Norwich) he labored much for their benefit.

Indeed he was often led into deep sympathy with classes of human beings for whose souls none seemed to care. "He paid considerable attention," says the *Norfolk News*, "to the overlooked, or too often forgotten foreign itinerant musicians who visit this city, (Norwich) more particularly Germans and Italians. He made himself acquainted with them by personal visits, to ascertain if they possessed copies of the scriptures in their native language, and he labored to promote the well being, physical as well as moral, of a class which appears to lie beyond the pale of ordinary benevolent effort."

This humble, unobtrusive Christian, with a wonderful expansion of heart and mind, gave out his warm affection in large measure for all the children of his Divine Father,—for all the objects of his Redeemer's love. Seas formed no barrier to the flow of his sympathy: no nation, east or west was excluded. In every human being he recognized a brother or a sister,—and human suffering always found him ready to mourn with those who mourned. A faithful and largely commissioned laborer in the Lord's harvest, with him as with the early apostles, *the field was the world.* (To be Continued.)

The beloved survivors of the deputation who were charged with the presentation in this land of the Anti-Slavery Address of London Yearly Meeting to the Sovereigns and Rulers of Christian Nations, have engaged their homeward passage in the Steamer Atlantic. Before this sheet

shall be presented to our readers, they will probably have taken their leave of a country, towards which their hearts must ever turn with touching memories of an honored colleague, who there laid down his life for the Testimony's sake, and passed from the field of labor into unalloyed rest.

These dear friends have received from the members of their own Church in this land, and from many others, of various classes, abundant tokens of sympathy and appreciation, and many a friend can address to each of them the words of Montgomery:

"Thus then in peace depart,
And angels guard thy footsteps—No!"
There is a feeling of the heart
That will not let thee go.
Yet go—my spirit goes with thee.
Yet go—thy spirit stays with me."

Of their Christian mission, which we believe to have been performed in the wisdom of their Master, we propose to speak more particularly in the course of our memoir of their deceased associate.

DEPUTATION OF FRIENDS TO THE EMPEROR OF RUSSIA.—Since our last publication full accounts of this interesting embassy have been received. The address of which Joseph Sturge, Robert Charleton, and Henry Pease were the bearers, is an admirable document, worthy of the Christian body from which it emanated. Pleading as their ground of action "a deep conviction of religious duty," and "the constraining love of Christ, our Saviour," and referring briefly to the christian kindness to Friends evinced by the illustrious brother and the mother of the present Emperor, it proceeds ably to set forth our testimony against war, and its incompatibility with Christianity. The subject of their concern is skillfully presented, without obtruding any officious opinion upon political questions. For the Address itself, we refer our readers to *Friends' Review*, in which it has appeared, together with a synopsis of the Emperor's observations, and a translation (by the venerable Editor of that Journal) of the Emperor's written address to the Society of Friends, in reply to their document. This paper was considered by Friends in England of sufficient importance to claim the attention of the Government. Nicholas declared his anxiety to avoid war by all possible means, his determination not to attack, but to act only in self-defence,—and his readiness to forgive all that was personal to himself, and to hold out his hand to his enemies in the true christian spirit. In his written reply, he "repudiates all ambitious designs of conquest, or of unjust interference with the affairs of Turkey."

At the request of the Empress, our Friends had an agreeable interview with her. To each of them a present was offered by the Emperor, which was refused by them, neither venality nor fame having anything to do with this religious proceeding of three plain men. The Em-

peror kindly sent a courier before them over nearly 500 miles of drifted snow.

We believe, without a doubt, that this mission was instigated by the Divine Spirit, and we have no fear that it will have been in vain, although we may not be permitted to know when or where the good seed may germinate and mature fruit to the praise of the great Husbandman, who sent the sowers.

THE OCCASION AND ITS DUTIES.—Under this caption, Whittier gives us in the *Era* a capital essay, too large for us to copy in full. He thus introduces his subject.

"If appearances are at all trustworthy, the geographical question mooted by a late eminent New England statesman may be considered as good as settled. There is a North. It begins to be understood that it is hardly safe for political filibusters and piratical adventurers to ignore its existence, and treat it as a fabulous Cape Fly-away or Isle of St. Brandan's. The Nebraska mischief, like most other evils, has its incidental and unlooked-for compensations—it has revealed the North.

"The action of the Legislatures of New York, Maine, Rhode Island, and Massachusetts; the public meetings of men of all parties in nearly all the principal cities and towns of the Free States; the municipal elections of Detroit and Milwaukee; the falling off of the Democratic vote in New Hampshire, although the friends of the Administration spared no pains to impress the People with the belief that the Nebraska question had nothing to do with the State election; the united remonstrance of the clergy of New England, of all denominations and all political parties—these are among the indications of a development of Northern feeling, which can scarcely be mistaken.

"There is a North! The returns of the New Hampshire election must, we think, satisfy such skeptics even as General Pierce and Secretary Cushing of this fact."

He proceeds to show that the Nebraska bill, although an Administration measure, and advocated by these Government retainers, who are "sold to the Demon of Patronage, and renounce all pretensions to self-control and private judgment," entirely fails to enlist any popular enthusiasm in its favor, and he graphically pictures in numerous localities, the People, of all parties, on one side,—Collector, Postmaster, and a tide waiter or two on the other." These "pen editorial leaders for subsidized presses,"—and for electioneering purposes relinquish part of their official pay. "They have piped, but the People would not dance. The plain common sense of disinterested men of all parties, has rejected their arguments in favor of the Nebraska perfidy."

Our gifted friend pursues the subject with its present and prospective bearings,—and in conclusion presents an intelligent plan.

"The present is the time for action. Let the movement begin at Washington at this very session. Let those who are willing to stand on the question of Slavery where the fathers of the Republic stood, unite, irrespective of party names, to form a LEAGUE OF FREEDOM—the nucleus of a mighty organization, throughout the country, the country, having for its watchwords—

"No Slave Territory.

"No more Slave States.

"The General Government relieved from all responsibility for Slavery.

"No interference by the General Government with Slavery in the Slave States.

"No interference with the right of Jury trial, the writ of habeas corpus, and other guarantees of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, in the free States."

"Slavery left to itself in the States which cherish it, without any extraneous aid or comfort, to reconcile itself as it best may to the progress of civilization and Christianity, and to the liberal spirit of the age.

"Such a movement as is here contemplated will naturally demand a leader—an embodiment of its idea. He will not be wanting. The Divine Providence does not mock us in presenting these great opportunities for the advancement of humanity. It gives the Man for the Hour—the strong, bold hand, to grasp the forelock of the passing Occasion. When such a man shall unmistakably reveal himself, whatever may have been his party name or connection, whether his home is in New England or the Empire State, by the Mississippi or the Colorado, all who love liberty, and desire the peace, honor, and prosperity of the several States, and the permanence of their Union, will naturally rally about him. But, in the mean time, let the movement be commenced, and vigorously prosecuted, whatever may be the fate of the Nebraska Bill, and without regard to the selfish appeals of the present leaders of parties. It needs but to be begun at Washington; the great mass of the People of the free States, now anxiously waiting for it, will take hold of it at once, and carry it forward to its consummation."

TO CORRESPONDENTS.—We omit many essays which we by no means "deem unworthy of a place."—We are much more embarrassed by the redundancy than the lack of matter, and are frequently compelled to throw articles aside after we have placed them in the Printer's hand.

We have sundry metrical communications of merit, (one upon a subject to which we have already devoted much space;) but our compositor's "chase" is of unyielding metal, and we know no means of making it elastic, like the Hall which was reported to have been "crowded with abundance more than it could hold." Four writers ask us to procure the insertion of their essays in other periodicals, from which, upon reflection, they will see that we ought to be excused.

For the Non-Slaveholder.
THE TIMES.

Written on hearing of the passage of the Nebraska Bill,
 in the Senate of the United States.

The dark storm gathering thick and fast
 O'ercasts the distant Orient;
 The shriek of death and trumpet-blast,
 Betoken woes of dire portent:
 War, rapine, ravage, ruin vast
 O'er all the land their blight have cast.

Kong's fertile vales and Shanghae's plains,
 Are scathed with fire and dyed with blood;
 O'er Tartara's antique domains,
 By Pekin's wall, by Ganges' flood,
 Imperial hosts—insurgents' arms,
 Are dealing death and dread alarms.

But not alone on Asia's plain
 War drives his gory reeking car,
 Europa feels the scourge—the stain
 Of blood and carnage rests on her.
 By Citale's towers, by Danube's wave,
 There fall the strong—there die the brave.

The navies sink, the hamlets blaze,
 Cannon and bombs flammivomous,
 Destruction deal, and havoc sways
 The Baltic and the Bosphorus:
 And gathering fleets from seas afar,
 Are hastening to the scene of war.

Yet not alone on Europe's strand
 Or Asia's plains, the dark cloud lowers:
 A storm awaits our favored land,
 A fearful fate may yet be ours,
 Fraught with more sad and direful woes
 Than Europe or than Asia knows.

Ye children of the wilderness!
 Ye unsubdued, ye wild and free!
 Flee! flee! For you there's no redress!
 Your western Amazonia flee!
 The haughty tyrant's on your track
 With servile minions at his back.

Flee! broad Nebraska is not yours!
 No home for freemen or for you!
 The slave-power greedily secures
 Your scanty portion as its due.
 Flee to Nevada's summit—yet
 The invader there his foot will set.

Ye remnant race! Ye robbed and peeled!
 Thought ye, when from your father's graves,
 From home, and stream, and fertile field
 Ye fled, driven out by artful knaves,
 To find a home by Kansas' waves?
 Vain thought! For tyrants, 'tis, and slaves.

While ye repose beneath the shade,
 Or chase o'er hills the timid game,
 Or rear the bark-hut in the glade,
 Or angle in the limpid stream,
 Wot ye that all this native joy
 Base men are plotting to destroy?

That in dark counsel with his clan
 The *white Chief* plots your overthrow?
 Has found his toil, has marked his plan
 To seal the doom—to fix the woe
 On you and on the negro race,
 And shroud the nation in disgrace?

Douglass—(oblivion hide his name:)
 Cass, Butler, Badger, Atchison
 And Pettit fill the niche of shame,
 And to themselves have basely won
 The meed of an inglorious fame—
 From Satan may their guerdon claim.

While Chase, a noble, dauntless form,
 Stands in the front of thickest fight
 And bares his bosom to the storm,
 Empanoplied in Truth and Right,
 Feared, yet respected by his foes,
 Clear, cogent, strong his logic flows.

And caustic Wade, a colleague fit
 For Chase, unflinching keeps his post,
 Replete with reason, sense and wit,
 Of truckling traitors worth a host,
 For freedom and the rights of man,
 Combats the mad opposing clan.

And Seward, Statesman-like and bland,
 Determined, bold, yet courteous still,
 Beside his compeers takes his stand,
 And meets, with firm unyielding will,
 The conflict waged to overthrow
 The dearest rights of man below.

And Sumner, eloquent, sublime,
 Terse, flowery, classical and wise,
 Turns back the pages of all time,
 Strips from the tyrant his disguise,
 And holds the Senate in control
 With the deep pathos of his soul.

And Fessenden, undaunted, free,
 Comes to the rescue with the few—
 The gauntlet throws to Slavery,
 And gives to Freedom's foes their due.
 As stars in splendor these shall shine
 And coming ages shall their names enshrine.

O, lost to virtue! lost to shame!
 Lost to all good and manly sense!
 Ye boasters loud in Freedom's name!
 Ye sold to Slavery's defence!
 When will ye cease your vain pretence,
 Or to defy Omnipotence?

Tremble ye rulers of the land!
 For while ye revel, on the wall
 In fearful lines, the mystic hand,
 Prophetic of your destined fall,
 Amid your sacrilegious deeds
 Writes MENE, TEKEL, o'er your heads.

Ah, yes! the fetters, which ye forge
 For other limbs, shall bind your own!
 The measure, ye so madly urge,
 Be meted out ten fold for one!
 Belshazzar's doom may be your fate,
 For God his name will vindicate.

Ohio, 3d mo. 20th, 1854.

A. L. B.

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 Much pains are taken to provide a variety of fabrics
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 Cambric, Cambric Hdk's., Cord Checks, Plaid Muslins,
 Poplins, Lustres, De Laines, Wool and Cotton Fancies,
 Ticking, Furniture Check, Satinets, Pant and Coat Stuff,
 Vestings, Suspenders, Hosiery, Knitting Cotton, Spool
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 Laines, De Beiges, Bereges, Flannels, Linen Shirtings and
 Lawns, Fine Printed Cambrics, for dresses, Pocket Hdkfs,
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THE NON-SLAVEHOLDER.

"Whoso gives the motive, makes his brother's sin his own."

VOL. II.—NEW SERIES.]

PHILADELPHIA, FIFTH MONTH, 1854.

[No. 5.]

WILLIAM J. ALLINSON, EDITOR.

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JUAN PLACIDO.—THE CUBAN POET.

(Continued from page 34.)

After helping to load sugar, I was sent to pile blocks of wood in one of the buildings. While so employed, all of a sudden the roof with a loud crash gave way, burying under its ruins the negro Andres Criollo; I escaped unhurt through a back door. The alarm given, all the people came to the rescue of poor Andres, who with great difficulty and labour was taken from under the ruins, with his skull broken, and he died in the Molino a few hours after. Early next morning, as I was piling the refuse of sugar canes, there arrived the then Master Pancho, and now Don F., followed by my second brother, who was in his service, and who intimated to me that his master was coming to take me back to the house. This was owing to my brother, who hearing of the accident and my narrow escape, begged earnestly of his young master to intercede with his mother on my behalf, which he easily obtained. I was presented to my mistress, who for the first time received me with kindness. But my heart was so oppressed, that neither her kindness nor eating, nor drinking could comfort me; I had no comfort except in weeping: my mistress observing it, and to prevent my crying so much, and the same time being so very drowsy, ordered me to move about, and clean all the furniture, tables, chairs, drawers, &c. All my liveliness disappeared, and as my brother was greatly attached to me, he became melancholy himself;

he tried, however, to cheer me up, but always finished our conversations in tears: for this reason, also, my mistress would not let me wait upon her, nor ride in the volante to town; and at last appointed me to the service of young Master Pancho; they bought me a hat and a pair of shoes, a new thing for me, and my master allowed me to bathe, to take a walk in the afternoon, and to go fishing, and hunting with Senor.

Besides the events just related, there happened two other circumstances resembling each other; one while at Havana, and the other at Matanzas, and which I think worth relating, before I begin to speak of my passing to the service of Don Nicholas de C. on my return to Havana. The first of these events happened when the new coin of our C. M. King Ferdinand the Seventh, began to circulate. Don Nicolas gave me a peseta of the old coin one night; next morning there came at the door a beggar, my mistress gave me a peseta of the new coin for him, which calling my attention, and having the other in my pocket, one is as much worth as the other, muttered I to myself, and changing the pesetas, I gave the beggar the old one; after I went to my usual place in the antichamber, I sat down in the corner, and taking the new coin out of my pocket, began like a monkey turning it over and over again, when escaping through my fingers it fell on the floor, making a rattling noise; at its sound my mistress came out of her chamber, made me pick it up; she looked at it, and her face reddened, she bid me go into her chamber, sit in a corner, and wait there; of course, my peseta remained in her possession, she recognized it as the same she gave me for the beggar two minutes before; with such proofs my fate was decided. My mistress was busy going in and out, till at last she sat down to write; soon after the carrier of the Ingenio, who happened to be there at the time with his drove of mules, came into the chamber with a bundle containing a coarse hemp dress, and while he was unfolding it, he dropt a new rope, drawing near me at the same time; trembling, and suspecting his intentions, I sprang up on a sudden, and escaping through another door, ran for protection to Don Nicolas; in the way, I met the young lady Concha, who kindly said to me, "go to my papa." The Marquis was always very kind to me, I used to sleep in his room, and whenever

he was afflicted with headache, I gave him warm water, held his head and attended on him till he recovered. When I arrived at his room, which was in instant, and he saw me at his feet, "What have you done now?" said he; in my confusion I related my case so confusedly, that he understanding that I stole the peseta, said in an angry tone, "You knave, why did you steal the peseta?" "No, sir," I replied, "your son Nicolasito gave it to me." "When?" "Last night," said I: we then went to the Senorito's room, who looking at the peseta, said that he did not give it to me. In truth, I was so frightened and confused, that I could not state the particulars sufficiently clear, on account of the presence of the carrier; and the name of the Ingenio, with its new mayoral, Don Simon Diaz, so inspired me with horror, that all conspired to confuse a boy of sixteen years only as I was.—The Marquis interceded for me, and for all that, I was shut up in a dungeon four whole days, without any food, except what my brother could introduce through a little opening at the bottom of the door, and that was little. At the fifth day I was taken out, dressed with a course linen dress and tied with a rope. They were going to send me with the baggage of the family, and the other servants, my brother among them, to Matanzas: when the hour arrived, and they were leading me away, I met at the door Donna Beatriz, at present a nun in the Convent of the Ursulinas who interceded for me, that the rope might be taken off, which was done; we embarked in a schooner for Matanzas, where we arrived at the end of two days.

While on board, and before coming on shore, I changed the coarse dress for the one my brother unseen had provided for me; as soon as we landed, my brother and I instead of going with the rest of the rest of the servants to present ourselves to Don Juan Gomex, who had instructions about us from the family, but being ignorant of it, and desirous to see our mother, we left the rest of the servants, and went to the Molino, where after presenting ourselves to the mayoral, and telling him that the rest of the servants were coming, we ran at full speed towards my mother's house; but we scarcely arrived and had time to embrace her, when the Croole, Santiago, greatly agitated and full of anger, called me out, saying, "come with me," not suspecting the secret instructions he had, I refused to go with him, and my mother asking me what have I done, but without giving me time to explain myself, very abruptly took hold of my arm, tied me with a rope, and led towards the Ingenio Saint Miguel, where we arrived about eleven o'clock, fasting all this time. The mayoral read the letter sent to him from Havana, and then put me in fetters; twenty-five lashes in the morning and as many more in the evening for the term of nine days, was the order of the latter. The mayoral questioned me about the pe-

seta, I told him plainly and truly the fact, and for the first time, this savage man showed pity; he did not put in execution his orders, but sent me to work with the rest of the negroes; here I remained two weeks, when my mistress again sent for me.—*To be Continued.*

Passages from our Correspondence.

(Continued from page 27.)

WAYNE CO., INDIANA.—(With a list of new subscribers, pre-paid.) "I am well pleased with the N. Slaveholder. The principles it advocates are really those of Friends, and I believe it to be the duty of members of our religious society to see that it is well sustained. Were it doubled in size, I believe that it could be filled with profitable reading matter, and I am of the opinion that we have not given to the subject of *free labor* that serious investigation which its magnitude demands. This important testimony ought to be faithfully borne, especially, as I think, by all the members of the Society of Friends.

When we take into consideration the evils inseparable from the system of Slavery, and reflect that the products of the Slave's unpaid labors constitute the Master's great inducement to hold on to his victims, what further evidence do we need, that *we*, the consumers of these products, are implicated in the transgression of which we are not backward to complain. Hence the necessity for the *Non-Slaveholder*. The copies for which I previously sent have come to hand, and, so far as I know, give entire satisfaction. I hope to order more before long."

WASHINGTON CO., OHIO.—"Please send me the *Non-Slaveholder*. I admire the title. All we can do, is to be, in our Church Communion our domestic expenditures, &c., Non-Slaveholders. Heaven save me, for the future, from paying "the fiend that stole the cotton that Tom pickt." Though we can, perhaps, do nothing towards putting down Slavery, we are certainly in danger of doing, inadvertently, much towards building it up.

I will do all I can against Slavery as I do against Satan, though I have no expectation of annihilating the old Adversary. I'll fight Slavery while I live—the Lord being my helper!"

[Fight away, and let Slavery "and the other," take care.]

DUTCHESS CO., N. YORK.—"Enclosed is \$1,00 for three copies of your excellent and faithful advocate for the poor and oppressed of our land. We have received a few copies, and are much pleased with the benevolent and christian spirit which breathes throughout its valuable pages."

From among many approving references to our memoir of William Forster we select the following.

"Thou canst not easily realize the service thou art rendering to many of us by the deeply interesting biographical notices of dear William Forster. I knew before that he was a great and very good man,—but I had not formed an adequate estimate of the depth of his character, which opens more and more upon me with each succeeding number of the *Non-Slaveholder*. For an authorized memoir from his family, we may have long to wait, and thou hast well done in presenting us with an outline of his history."

Another says:

"The Editorial memoir of William Forster is worth to me much more than a year's subscription. It renders the *Non-Slaveholder*, since the commencement of this article, the most welcome periodical that enters my house."

For the Non-Slaveholder.

RIGHT ACTION.

The habit which men are in of mutually deferring to each other's "superior piety and intelligence," in the exploring and carrying out of their moral obligations, is a rock on which many

a beautiful bark has been shattered to pieces. It was divinely intended that man should act on his own honest convictions of right—not on the *asserted* convictions of others. What defects of the heart or head may underlie the latter, we know not. We even measure with difficulty our own, where the temptations of some selfish interest may intervene to obscure the lustre of the light within us. We know not but that the wrong in others may be the reflex of some wrong in ourselves, and that to be ourselves *outright* in the practice, and *outspoken* in the utterance of the truth as we find it in our heart, would be to correct a mass of evil both in and beyond us. To be thus outspoken, if speaking in love, is the evidence of a sound charity, not of its contrary. Under the truthful cover of this sentiment, I venture the assertion, that the conviction of the moral unlawfulness of using the products of slavery is an *indwelling*, though *borne-down* feeling in the minds of *all* who justly appreciate the evil of slavery itself. Every body knows that it is wrong voluntarily to support an evil, and often a greater wrong, in contemplation of the relative intelligence of the parties, in the accessory than in the principal. The *man* who buys the stolen apple is guiltier than the *boy* who stole it. He who gives the motive to the assassin is the chief assassin, for without him there would be no victim. In the great day of account who will be found the greater criminal—the tempter or the tempted? Let us then cease to justify our wrong by telling what this man says, or that man does, and listen only to Truth's voice. "Follow thou Me!" Thus doing, we would aim a blow at Slavery, which the most splendid declamation unvivified by a faithful life must ever fail to inflict.

Jonathan Dymond, in his chapter on Immoral Agency, well says:—"A great portion of the moral evil in the world is the result, not so much of the intensity of individual wickedness, as of a general incompleteness in the practical virtue of all classes of men. If it were possible to take away misconduct from one half of the community, and to add its amount to the remainder, it is probable that the moral character of our species would be soon benefitted by the change. *Now*, the ill dispositions of the bad are powerfully encouraged by the want of upright examples in those who are better. A man may deviate considerably from rectitude, and still be as good as his neighbors. From such a man, the motive to excellence which the constant presence of virtuous example supplies, is taken away. So that there is reason to believe that if the bad were to become worse, and the reputable proportionably better, the average virtue of the world would speedily be increased.

"One of the modes by which the efficacy of example in reputable persons is miserably diminished, is by what we have called immoral agency—by their being willing to encourage, at se-

cond hand, evils which they would not commit as principals. Linked together as men are in society, it is difficult to perform an unwarrantable action without some sort of co-operation from creditable men. This co-operation is not often, except in flagrant cases refused; and thus not only is the commission of such actions facilitated, but a general relaxation is induced in the practical estimates which men form of the standard of rectitude.

"Since, then, so much evil attends this agency in unwarrantable conduct, it manifestly becomes a good man to look around upon the nature of his intercourse with others, and to consider whether he is not virtually promoting evils which his judgment deprecates, or reducing the standard of moral rectitude in the world. The reader would have no difficulty in perceiving that, if a strenuous opponent of the slave-trade should establish a manufactory of manacles and thumb-screws, and iron collars for the slave-merchants, he would be grossly inconsistent with himself. The reader would perceive too, that his labors in the cause of the abolition would be almost nullified by the viciousness of his example, and that he would generally discredit pretensions to philanthropy. Now, that which we desire the reader to do is, to apply the principle which this illustration exhibits to other and less flagrant cases. Other cases of co-operation with evil may be less flagrant than this; but they are not on that account innocent."

Following out this reasoning, the intelligent reader will be led to inquire how much more or less necessary to the existence of the slave-trade and slavery is the manufacture of the thumb screws, manacles and collars, than is the use of the products of Slavery, and ascertaining this, he will be likely to arrive at a correct view of their relative guiltiness.

VERITAS.

For the Non-Slaveholder.

"THE OPPRESSOR NEEDS A FRIEND."

HE NEEDS A FRIEND who will scorn to afford him an inducement to continue in the sin of enslaving his fellow man. *He needs a friend* who will encourage him by example as well as precept, to withdraw from tyranny's unhallowed deeds, from the unchristian practice of oppression, and to move in that line of life which is characterized by love and good will towards all. *He needs a friend* to show him that considerations of personal comfort, and the enjoyment of the luxuries of temporal things, sink very low in his estimation, when they interfere with the rights and well-being of any human being however lowly and despised. *He needs a friend* to set before him the self-denying example involved in a conscientious refusal to enjoy worldly good, when the blood of oppression's victims marks the process by which it is obtained, and in closing his eyes upon prospects of advantage to be derived from the "gains of oppression."

Such a friend, and many such, does the guilty slavemaster truly need. Who then will pursue that course of action, that principle, which at once befriends him and his suffering victim, affording the former no plea for the practice of cruel robbery, and the latter a release from the miseries of a galling servitude? And not only so, for we befriend *ourselves* by the force of the measure we would employ for the good of others; for therein we stand guiltless of our brother's blood. Who then will continue so to oppose the true interest of all, as to afford support to slavery? How can any endure the thought of the most distant connexion with the *cause* of African enslavement?

The Lord formerly complained by His prophet, of those who strengthened the hands of the wicked, and what greater wickedness can we be instrumental in strengthening, than that of slavery, the existence of which comprises every form of iniquity and wrong? P.

For the Non Slaveholder.

"IS IT I."

Let us not ask, in contemplating the circumstances of wrong and cruelty belonging to slavery, if the immediate actors in these scenes of horror, are to be regarded as the occasion of it,—but *am I*.

"While from the toiling bondsman's utter need,
We pile our own full board,"

and fold about our forms the robes afforded by his wasted life, how can we condemn the Slaveholder who only does directly what we do by him?

Let us pause in the career of pleasure and profit, not so much to calculate the great destruction of life in the whole process of African enslavement, (we know that is fearful,) not so much to estimate the wrong done to the enslaved by the whole number of anti-slavery people, while they continue to demand the proceeds of their toil, as to consider and query if *we* individually, are clear of blood-guiltiness, while we are connected in ever so small a measure, or at any point whatever, with the process which causes the premature and cruel death of many an unfortunate creature, whose right to the unmolested enjoyment of all the gifts and privileges bestowed by the Universal Father, is the same as our own. How long will we neglect the cry of suffering, which comes up to us from the "field of cane, from the low rice swamp, from the traders cell, from the loathsome and suffocating hold of the slave-ship, and the coffee's weary chain? Know we not that our choicest luxuries are tainted with the blood of slaves,—that briny tears are mingled with the sweets prepared for our "pampered palates," wrung out from aching eyes, by the agonies to which the oppressor dooms his victim. Know we not that the over-tasked and fainting forms of age and youth, toiling in the cotton field, victims of the lawless

cruelty of a merciless overseer, are affording, by their unrequited labors, the raiment we fold about us? And, knowing this, shall we deem it a light thing to add to our many comforts, and to the gains which arise from happy and requited toil, any proceed of slavery? *I would, if others would*; seems too much the feeling of some, when this subject is presented to them. They would withdraw their aid from the support of a system which we all profess to abhor, and clear their hands of the unhallowed gains of oppression, *if others would do the same*. Without looking to *others*, each should remember that individual effort, individual faithfulness, in this line of duty, is as important and effectual, as is an advance to the same extent in any good cause. Individual influence is adding to the inhuman force by which African bondage is prolonged, or it is tending to the advancement of principles that will weaken the task-master's hold upon his trembling victim. To which of these points, to the good or to the evil, shall our daily actions and our influence tend? With the thought of all the horrors of slavery, we should ever connect the consideration, that this cruel system owes its continuance to the consumption of those commodities, in the production of which, servile labor is applied. This consideration will not allow us to place *ourselves* at a distance from the charge of causing the enslavement of our sable brother, while we are pursuing a course which involves an inducement to the existence and continuance of his bondage. Were we disposed nicely to examine every form of injustice, we could discern immense wrong done to our fellow men in chains, in the very act which furnishes a free man with the full value of the slave commodity which we have purchased of him. His profit and our comfort and convenience, are the result of robbery and wrong, perpetrated upon the possessions of the slave, and held in continued force by transactions which have the appearance of justice and honesty, and which are just and honest, so far as the dealings of one free man with another are considered. But while we would scorn to defraud those with whom we are immediately connected, let us extend our principles of justice to the robbed and desolated condition of the slave. OHIO.

Peroration of Webster's great speech against Knapps and Crowninshield, for murder.

With consciences satisfied with discharge of duty, no consequences can harm you. There is no evil that we cannot either face or fly from, but the consciousness of duty disregarded.

A sense of duty pursues us ever. It is omnipresent, like the Deity. If we take to ourselves the wings of the morning and dwell in the uttermost part of the sea, duty performed or duty violated, is still with us, for our happiness or misery. If we say, the darkness shall cover us, in the darkness as in the light, our obligations

are yet with us. We cannot escape from their power or fly from their presence. They are with us in this life, will be with us at its close; and in that inconceivable solemnity which lies yet farther onward, we shall still find ourselves surrounded by the consciousness of duty, to pain us wherever it has been violated, and to console us so far as God may have given us grace to perform it.

THE NON-SLAVEHOLDER.

PHILADELPHIA, FIFTH MONTH, 18, 1854.

WILLIAM FORSTER.*

The time having nearly arrived for his embarkation upon a Gospel mission to this continent, his faith was subjected to an unexpected test.—As he was quietly walking in his lane, (at his retired country residence about two miles from Bradpole,) a cow, without any provocation, hooked him in the knee, inflicting a painful wound. In this condition he went to Bristol, (from whence he was to sail,) and in that city he was enabled to minister largely to his fellow probationers, “in the demonstration of the Spirit and with power.”

On the 15th of third month, 1820, he sailed for America. A number of his friends accompanied him to the ship—among whom was the beloved Stephen Grellet, who had been bound to him in Christian brotherhood for nearly nine years, a fraternity which strengthened and brightened till their final parting in 1853, when it was our privilege to witness between these aged pilgrims an interview of peculiar interest and solemnity which truly seemed “quite in the verge of Heaven.”

In allusion to his embarkation Joseph John Gurney makes in his diary, the following note:

“It was a memorable occasion; both he and his dear wife were marvelously upheld. Just before the vessel left the basin, we were all collected in the cabin, in retirement before the Lord—about twenty Friends; dear Anna returned thanks for the prospect which was given her of William’s safe voyage. I felt strengthened to commend them and their child individually to Him who can alone preserve; immediately after which the vessel sailed, and went off, contrary to usual custom, in almost perfect silence. The last look of William’s, which I caught, was a look of peace and joy; and some of us, after we had parted, traced the course of the vessel down the river. It was a bright sun-shiny morning. The vessel was very handsome, and I shall not soon forget the beautiful scene which she presented to us as she glided between the banks of the Avon.”

Our dear friend being increasingly conformed to the likeness of Christ, “his meat was to do the will of him that sent him.” Hence, although his lameness was painful, and to his

friends a source of anxiety, it was a relief to him to be able to enter upon the service to which he was called,—looking for his rest at the end, not by the way: and having committed himself, in filial trust to Him who rules the waves, he was enabled, during a tedious voyage, to possess his soul in patience, as will be seen in the following extract from a letter to J. J. Gurney.

Bristol Channel, 6 miles Eastward of Sandy Island,
4th Mo. 19th, 1820—9 o’clock, P. M.

“My dearest Joseph,

* * * * *
“Thy friendship, love and sympathy so eminently manifest during thy visit at Bristol are very frequently present in my recollections, much to my comfort and encouragement. My heart is so much dwelling with thee in near affectionate love, and most intimate unity, that I scarcely seem to have parted from thee, and I hardly know how to admit the thought that it may be years before we meet again. But that we *shall* meet again, in the enjoyment of the peace and love and fellowship of the gospel of Christ, is the hope with which I feel my mind sustained at this moment, and in which I am allowed to take some real consolation. My heart is very much prone to sink at the prospect opening before me, and I feel much of the awfulness of the service to which I have been strengthened to devote myself. But being enabled in some moments of Divine favor to believe that it is a path into which I am led by the Spirit of Christ, I am endued with some small measure of capacity to put my trust in the Lord for the days to come. Dear Joseph, I have heretofore taken comfort in believing that I was remembered of thee in thy secret approaches to the throne of Grace: that thou hadst it given thee at times to pray for me. May the Lord still incline thee, in his love and power, thus to think of and to plead for thy poor brother, both in his long pilgrimage thro’ these deep waters, and in all the tribulations, temptations, and perils which may be permitted him, in filling up his appointed measure of suffering for the sake of Christ, upon those distant shores.

This is the fifth day since we left Bristol, and we are only now about to leave the Channel.—Our detention has been an exercise of patience, but through Divine help, I have mostly been kept in quiet contentment, not at all doubting that it is all best for me, and that if it be the Lord’s good pleasure to give me a safe landing on the other side, it will be in the day of his own appointed time. * * *

Do have the charity to cheer my poor wife’s solitary widowhood by a few lines from thy pen. Thy letters, and those of our Keswick friends, seldom fail to have that effect. * * * Feel me as ever thy loving friend and brother,
W. F.”

The friend to whom this letter was addressed, was associated five years previously, when about

* Continued from page 38.

22 years of age, with William Forster, as his companion in a religious tour in Lincolnshire, Cambridgeshire, &c.; in reference to which engagement J. J. G. long afterwards wrote: "This was the foundation of that warm and intimate brotherhood which has ever since subsisted between us, and which never bound us in a stronger tie than it does at present. His ministry and example powerfully impressed me; and I soon found, that beneath the veil of almost insuperable modesty, there lay a rich treasure of intellectual power." "Great fluency, depth and clearness, distinguished his ministry. It was almost apostolic."

He landed at New York on a First-day afternoon, at a time when he was not expected by his Friends, who understood that his visit was postponed on account of his accident. He enquired his way, and went, a stranger and alone, to one of the meetings of that city, where he took his seat beside Richard Mott, and they silently worshipped together "as unknown and yet well known," until William Forster, in reverent prayer to the God of the Spirits of all flesh, gave full evidence of the "anointing which he had received." Between these two dedicated servants a warm friendship subsisted, from that time till the close of William Forster's life.

On the ensuing seventh day, the Yearly Meeting of New York commenced,—during the sittings of which William Forster was conspicuously engaged in the work of the Lord, to the edification and comfort of the Church.

He then attended a few neighboring meetings, and the wound in his knee, being, by this time, greatly aggravated, his physician pronounced that nothing but perfect rest could save his limb, if even his life. He was accordingly confined, chiefly in a recumbent posture, at the house of Thomas Eddy, for about two months; after which he went with Richard and Abigail Mott to their home at Mamaroneck, and soon after set out upon his christian mission, accompanied by Robert F. Mott. Whilst they were holding meetings on the eastern shore of Maryland, William Forster had a serious attack of illness.

He had been perhaps a year in America, when he was joined by John Paul of Philadelphia, (well known to many of our readers as a valuable Elder,) who was for about four years the faithful companion of his travels in this land, where, being long detained "an Ambassador in bonds," he visited (with the single exception of a very small congregation), every established meeting of Friends in America, laboring abundantly in the love of Christ. His diligence was exemplary, as an illustration of which we may mention, that being at a village in Western New York, and having peremptory appointments ahead, he found that he could not peacefully leave the place without discharging a debt of Christian love; and therefore, he held a public meeting, (which proved large and satisfactory), at 5 o'clock in the morning.

It will be remembered that William Forster bore a useful part in the proceedings of the General Anti-Slavery Convention, held in London in 1850. During the ninth day's sitting of that body, in a speech upon his resolution respecting the internal slave trade which is cherished by our nation (although we have declared the *African* Slave Trade to be piracy,) and referring to his American mission, he said:—"I have not forgotten, and it is impossible that I ever should forget, the impression made on my mind at that time, of the enormity and iniquity of the trade, which I there saw prosecuted between the older and the more newly settled States of the Union."—With characteristic modesty, he said in the same speech:—"When the subject was before the Convention on a former occasion, I could have added my personal testimony to the truth of the statements then advanced, having travelled through the Southern States in the winter of 1824. I know not, however, that I can adduce facts more striking than those which were then brought forward. I, therefore, preferred hearing the recital of others, rather than addressing the Convention myself."

We are not certain that he journeyed, at this time, farther South than Charleston, South Carolina, where the impression left upon the minds of the people was such, that when, some years after, Stephen Grellet was in that city, they bore unequivocal testimony respecting his christian services.

During this tour he made notes respecting prisons in the U. States and in Canada, partly, we believe, for the use of his brother-in-law T. F. Buxton, then in Parliament, in whose philanthropic efforts he took a deep interest. "I feel much relief and real satisfaction," he writes, "in hearing that the subject of the Slave-trade and Slavery has such a deep hold on Fowell's mind."

In a letter, bearing date 10th mo., 1st, 1822, W. F. says:—"I sometimes take pleasure in anticipating the day, when relieved from my present many arduous exercises, I shall be restored again to that near and intimate religious communion with many of my dearest friends; rendered dearer to me than ever by my long separation from them, and the sympathy I have been brought to feel with them, under the trials they have passed through in my absence."

10th mo. 18th, 1822, he writes from New Hampshire;—"My path has been one of many trials, and often of discouragement, and I think thou wilt not be surprised to hear that it continues to be so, but through all, I am not left without confidence in the care and guidance of our gracious Lord; and sometimes I am animated to persevere, by the rising of a gentle hope, that, notwithstanding my very many infirmities, He condescends to accept my dedication, imperfect as it is, and to acknowledge me among His servants. If this be vouchsafed to the end, it is all I dare to ask, and I am sure it will be more

than I deserve. I trust thou wilt feel for me, when I say, that I have not been able to discover a door open for my release as soon as my beloved wife, and my many dear friends may probably expect my return. I wish to stand constantly on the watch, ready to accept the very first intimation that may be granted me; and very earnestly do I crave an interest in the prayers of all who can feel with me, that I may be endued with patient resignation to the Divine will, and entire devotedness to the service of the Lord, until, in the same love and power in which He made me willing to forsake all for His name's sake, He may be pleased to lead me back again to the enjoyment of my many social and domestic comforts."

Few persons, as we apprehend, have more fully appreciated the glorious doctrine of redemption by Christ,—of the sufficiency of the price which He paid to cover all our debts,—of the vastness of that merit upon which we have to rely when all works of our own must fail us,—of the blessedness of the mediation of the Son of God,—of the importance of true faith in Him who has declared himself to be the Way, the Truth, and the Life, and that no man cometh unto the Father but by Him.—Being thus filled with a grateful sense of redeeming mercy, it was always painful to Him when those who stood as ministers of righteousness were engaged to preach themselves, and not Christ Jesus the Lord. On such occasions he would say: "It grieves my spirit."

We may close our notice of his first visit to America, with the following paragraphs, kindly furnished us by a valued friend, whose intimate friendship with the subject of our memoir, extended through the period embraced by that mission, and through his remaining years.

"The first visit of our late beloved friend, William Forster, to this land, occupied him almost five years, during which he visited nearly, if not quite all the meetings of Friends on this continent, and many of them several times. The gentleness and tenderness of his spirit, his warm and faithful affection to those who enjoyed the privilege of his friendship, greatly endeared him to them, and we believe it may safely be said that few ministers have ever been more truly beloved. There was a richness, a fulness and persuasive energy, a clear and comprehensive recognition and development of those great truths of redemption by Jesus Christ, which rendered his preaching peculiarly touching and impressive, and it was attended with a degree of divine unction and authority which carried conviction to the minds of his hearers, and won an acknowledgement of its truth, and of his sincerity, even from those who did not, in all respects, coincide with his views on some points. In illustrating and defending some of the leading points of Christian doctrine, he was often logical and powerfully argumentative, evincing an intimate

and accurate acquaintance with the Holy Scriptures, and a clear appreciation of their force and meaning; which showed that he had been largely instructed in the school of Christ, and drawn the rich stores of his spiritual knowledge from the treasury of Him who only has the key of David, and opens and no man can shut. Some memorable occasions of this character are fresh in the recollection of the writer, and probably of many others, when he stood forth as an ambassador of Christ, and under the constraining power of His love, nobly and convincingly advocated that blessed cause which was dearer to him than life itself, with an earnestness, fervency, and tenderness of spirit which seemed to baptize the assembly, and, for the time, subdued every feeling of opposition.

"Possessing a mind unusually sensitive to every species of human suffering, with a peculiar faculty of making the privations and sufferings of others his own, and the most delicate and soothing manner of imparting sympathy and consolation, he was, beyond most, qualified for ministering to the suffering and afflicted. In his travels through the southern states, the deep interest he had long felt in our enslaved brethren of the African race, was powerfully called forth, and at times seemed almost overwhelming to his feeling mind. He was earnest in his efforts to spread correct views on this momentous subject, and circulated extensively, pamphlets and books which he thought likely to have a beneficial influence,—also embracing every opening which presented for pleading with the master, in christian love."—(*To be Continued.*)

AFRICAN COTTON.—The Royal Geographical Society publishes, in its proceedings, a letter from Dr. Irving, a missionary to Africa, who having been, in 1853, ordered on service to Abbeokuta, found the Yarubas "a population of nearly three millions, clothed entirely in cloths manufactured by themselves." Being greatly struck with the variety of objects which might lead to extensive and lucrative commerce, he took to England many samples of African productions, and the specimens of indigenous cotton "proved to be of the very quality required for manufacture." He has since been employed, on behalf of London Merchants, and with the sanction of Sir James Graham and Lord Clarendon, to examine the country.

The following Report was approved at the Annual Meeting of the Association, held the day following the date of the document. The Meeting, though not large, was interesting and satisfactory.

REPORT OF THE PHILADELPHIA FREE PRODUCE ASSOCIATION OF FRIENDS.

In presenting their Annual Report to the Association, the managers would deem it unnecessary to insist upon the considerations heretofore frequently urged in support of the necessity and the importance of faithfully maintaining our tes-

timony against the iniquitous system of slavery, by abstaining from its products, as far as our necessary connection with the commerce of the country will admit, were it not a fact, too glaring to be overlooked, and of too much importance to be disregarded, that many, both in and out of our religious society, who are fully conscious of the evils of slavery, and sincerely desirous of seeing a practicable and efficient remedy applied, still appear indisposed to afford their influence and example in support of the free labor movement.

To us it appears too clear to admit of a doubt, or to require illustration, that the whole system of slavery, the foreign and international traffic included, with all their enormities and destruction of life, owes its vitality to the market for the products of servile toil. Hence, the inference appears undeniable, that in just such proportion as we voluntarily increase the demand for those products, we contribute our support of the system, and participate in the guilt; and so far as we contribute to replenish the market with the results of free and compensated labor, to the exclusion of those extracted from the compulsive drudgery of slaves, so far we weaken the system of slavery, and diminish the temptation to sustain it.

Certainly the events of the last few months, the undisguised, as well as more insidious attempts to extend the area and strengthen the influence of the slaveholding interest—the Legislation of the Federal government now trembling in the balance—and the avowed policy of the Executive in relation to the abolition of slavery in Cuba, furnish a very pathetic admonition to the advocates of justice and friends of our race to withdraw their support, as far as practicable, from a system so oppressive in its operations, so grasping and insatiable in its demands, and so deleterious in its results. We have, however, the satisfaction to believe that the number of those who are willing to manifest their abhorrence of slavery, by abstaining from its products, is rather increasing than diminishing, especially among some other denominations of Christians; but considerable discouragement has arisen from the difficulty of supplying the Free Labor store, kept by George W. Taylor, with the requisite variety of cotton fabrics to meet the demand. Hence has been suggested the expediency of establishing a manufactory of cotton goods, to be employed exclusively upon the products of free labor, and to be connected with the store. Our friend, George W. Taylor, is willing to undertake such an establishment, in case an amount of capital adequate to the indispensable expenditure can be placed at his disposal. The outlines of a plan for the manufacture of free cotton fabrics, with an estimate of the funds required for its establishment, will be herewith submitted. It appears highly probable, if not absolutely certain, that unless some method can be devised to keep up a more ample supply of the various articles, of which cotton is the principal ingredient, than

has been found practicable under existing arrangements, the attempt to keep up the store of free goods must be abandoned. Such a result must be greatly deplored, and could scarcely fail to prove extremely discouraging to the friends of the cause. The present, indeed, appears to be the time not to abandon, but to renew our exertions to increase the consumption of free-grown cotton.

The information recently thrown before the public, respecting the cultivation of cotton by the German settlers in Western Texas, may be hailed as one of the means for obtaining a supply of the raw material; a means provided to our hands, without trouble or foresight on our part. The production of a thousand bales, untouched by servile hands, within a small district of that fertile region, certainly gives encouragement to the belief, that with proper exertions a supply might be obtained more than equal to existing demands.

There is no reason why free cotton fabrics may not be supplied to the consumer, on as easy terms as those extracted from the labor of slaves; except what arises from the difficulty and consequent expense of preserving the raw material free from mixture with slave-grown cotton, during its transit from the producer to the consumer; and this difficulty must diminish as the quantity produced in any locality is increased. And a factory, working altogether on free cotton, could unquestionably execute its work as well and as cheaply, as one supplied with the slave-grown material.

The plan proposed for the manufactory is, that the friends of the cause should raise, by subscription, a fund for the purchase of machinery, and one-half of a year's supply of cotton, requiring altogether about fifteen thousand dollars; G. W. Taylor to rent the machinery for a sum that will keep it insured against loss by fire, set aside yearly an adequate sum for needful repairs and depreciation by wear and tear, and pay annually to contributors 6 per cent.

The cotton is also to be kept insured, and to be furnished to him at cost, and all expenses, including 6 per cent. per annum interest for the contributors.

The fund to be applied and guarded by one or two Trustees, to be chosen by the contributors.

As it is very important to have the machinery ordered soon, and make other necessary arrangements for putting the mill in working order, it is hoped that there will be found friends of the cause enough to subscribe the required amount, within a month from this time. The money will not be needed till the machinery is ready for delivery, which will not probably be sooner than two months after an order shall be given for it. Address Geo. W. Taylor, Box 777 Post Office, Philadelphia.

Signed on behalf of the Board of Managers.

SAMUEL RHOADS, Sec'y.

Philadelphia Amc. 18th, 1854.

Printed at the Gazette Office, Burlington, N. J.

THE NON-SLAVEHOLDER.

"Whoso gives the motive, makes his brother's sin his own."

VOL. II.—NEW SERIES.]

PHILADELPHIA, SIXTH MONTH, 1854.

[No. 6.]

WILLIAM J. ALLINSON, EDITOR.

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WILLIAM FORSTER.

BY THE AUTHOR OF "LAYS OF QUAKERDOM."

Laid to thy rest amid the mighty mountains
That, calm and stable, symbolize thy soul;
Sleeping in peace, where streams from living fountains,
Types of thy spirit, in their clearness roll.

Leaving Life's labor for its full fruition,
Still bearing meekly in thy faithful hand
The high credentials of thy human mission,
Whose glorious eading is the better land.

Thine earnest pleading for the bound and broken,
Falleth like music on that other sphere;
Half on the Earth and half in Heaven 'twas spoken,
Bringing the bondsmen and the Angels near.

Slowly receding in thine act of pleading,
From the poor sufferers whom thou sought to save;
Their blessing resting on thy interceding,
Hangs like a halo o'er thy lonely grave.

And streaming inward through the narrow portal,
Breaks like the morning in the shadowy tomb,
Lifting the first steps of thy march immortal
To Joy and Triumph from the chill and gloom.

While from the verge of Earth, loved voices ringing
Far through the valley, luminous as day,
Herald thy coming to the angels singing,
Whose streams of welcome meet thee half the way.

There they shall greet thee, whom thy labors lifted
From the low places of their human life!
Who but for thee, o'er the wild seas had drifted
Outward afar, or perished in the strife.

The lone Pariah round the true Shekina
With the poor toilsman of thy native land,
The slavish serf, the slave of Carolina,
Waiting to meet thee in a shining band.

Passing in love and power, thy soul's transition
Is but ascension to a higher height,

Where all around thee in thy new condition
Life's mysteries open in celestial light.

Viewing forever in calm contemplation
The widening circles of each duty done;
And through all cycles of thy elevation,
Ascending nearer to the Heavenly One.

Passages from our Correspondence.

Continued from page 42.

CHELMSFORD—(Eng.) 5 Mo. 15th. "I look for extensive misery to many nations, and the subversion of thrones. We have one consolation in the midst of these murderous conflicts; the Almighty Ruler of the Universe can over-rule the wrath of man, to the advancement of His own blessed work of purification in the Earth, and the remainder of wrath he will restrain. To Him we must look, and to Him we must commit ourselves, abiding under the shadow of His wing till these calamities are overpast. England has a trying path to tread; for although, in mercy, we may be spared the horrors of war within our own shores, our men will die in battles abroad, our finances and commerce will become disturbed, and much home misery will ensue.—A rumor is afloat, which I believe to be true, that Spain has directed the Captain General of Cuba to emancipate the slaves of that Island at any time on his own authority, should he think it needful to resist any piratical expedition or hostilities of war from the United States. We hope soon to hear of the abolition of Slavery in the Dutch colonies."

RANDOLPH CO., N. CAROLINA. "I was pleased to see in the first No. of the present Vol. the proposition of purchasing a factory for the manufacture of free labor cotton goods. It revived a desire I have long cherished, that some of the advocates of freedom and the free labor system in the northern states, who have capital, may move hither. We have much water power, and many factories, and can raise the cotton. Were our population of the right kind increased, the cotton may be raised by free hands and a factory purchased and kept in operation in a part where the cotton grows well, and I have no doubt these goods could be sold as low as any other, and thus be placed completely within the reach of all. We have room, here in the middle and western part of this state for more than double our present population. Not half our land has yet been cleared. It stands, in its natural forest, in tracts of 100, 200, and 300 acres, and may be purchased at from \$1 to \$10 or \$12 per acre. We have few slaves here compared with the eastern part of this State or Virginia. The land is rolling, mostly clayey, with places mixed with sand. In the north and western part the timber is mostly oak and chestnut—the eastern or southern part are more sandy, with pine timber."

We wish that the views of our beloved friend may have due place. It has often moved us

deeply to hear of Friends and other conscientious persons emigrating from slave States where a testimony to the truth is needed, and where, perhaps, the Good Husbandman had planted them that they should bear it. Often on hearing of such removals, the words have thrilled in our mind, "then shall the righteous flee from the *devoted city*." But, how cheering would it be to those who remain faithful at their post, bearing their burden alone, and weeping for the for the oppression around them, if freemen who have faith in their principles, would settle among them, and in the very midst of Slavery practically demonstrate the dignity of labor, the beauty of philanthropy, the moral grandeur of consistency, the practicability of duty, and the expediency of right.

ERIE Co. N. Y. "Is it not an error to say that the north had shared in the profits of slavery? Would not cotton have been cheaper without slavery? The North has sunk hundreds of millions in southern bankruptcy."

We conceive that the north *has* shared, alike in the profit and the guilt of slavery, and has been on the whole, (as she richly deserves to be) greatly the loser, even in a financial view of the subject. In illustration of our correspondent's assertion respecting southern bankruptcies, we will state that losses from this cause, to the amount of three millions of dollars, were sustained in NEWARK, N. J., in the year 1840.

How far this was the result of a participation in the slaveholder's guilt, we have not the means of computing. But we remember, in this connection, that a young friend of ours, a zealous abolitionist, having heard of a manufactory in that city which supplied large quantities of slave whips, visited it, examined the goods, asked many questions and received explanations how a *nigger* might be knocked down with the heavy end. Having purchased a few specimens, he was asked respecting the sort of plantation for which the whips were wanted. Our friend replied, that he was an abolitionist—that he had heard of the establishment, but could scarcely believe that such could exist in N. Jersey, and that he wanted these samples to exhibit.

JUAN PLACIDO.—THE CUBAN POET.*

(Continued from page 42.)

The second event happened at Matanzas. My mistress sent me to get change of a gold doubloon at Don Juan de Torres. When I returned, she told me to put the change on a card-table, some time after she took it and put it into her pocket. As it was my business to dust all the furniture every half hour, whether it was dusty or not, when I came to this card-table, and put down one-half of it, down fell a peseta, which it seems got between the joints; at the sound of it she came from the next room, and asked me

about it, I told her how it came there, she then counted her change, and missed the peseta, which she took without saying a word the rest of the day; but next day about 10 o'clock, the mayoral of the Ingenio came, who fastened my arms behind me, and ordered me to go before his horse; telling me, at the same time, that my mistress suspected that I put the peseta myself between the joints of the table on purpose to keep it. This mayoral, whose name I do not remember, stopped before a tavern, dismounted, went in, and ordered breakfast for both; untied my arms, and kindly told me to make myself easy, and not be afraid. While I was eating, he was conversing with a man, and I heard him say, "he besought of him to pity me, he had some children of his own." After breakfast he mounted his horse, and made me ride behind him on the horse. When we arrived at the Ingenio, he invited me to dine with him, and at night put me under the care of an old negro woman; I remained in this way nine days, when I was sent for by my mistress. At the period I speak of, my father was then living, and used to question me about these things, and advising me to tell always the truth, and to be honest and faithful. As this was the first time that I had been at the Ingenio, and considering the good treatment I experienced, I think it was owing to my mistress's secret instructions.

The second time that I was at Matanzas, there never passed a day without bringing some trouble to me; no, I cannot relate the incredible hardships of my life, a life full of sorrows! My heart sickened through sufferings, once after having received many blows on the face, and that happened almost daily, my mistress said, "I will make an end of you before you are of age;" these words left such an impression on my mind, that I asked my mother the meaning of them, who quite astonished, and after making me repeat them twice over, said, "my son, God is more powerful than the devil." She said no more about it; but this and some hints I received from the old servants of the house, began to unfold the true meaning of her expressions. On another occasion, going to be chastised, for I do not remember what trifle, a gentleman, always kind to me, interceded for me; but my mistress said to him, "mind, Senor, this boy will be one day worse than Rousseau and Voltaire, remember my words." These strange names, and the way that my mistress expressed herself, made me very anxious to know what sort of bad people they were; but when I found out that they were enemies of God, I became more uneasy, for since my infancy I was taught to love and fear God, and my trust in him was such, that I employed always part of the night praying God to lighten my sufferings, and to preserve me from mischief on the following day, and if I did anything wrong, I attributed it to my lukewarmness in prayers, or that I might have forgotten

* We have been questioned respecting the truth of this narrative. We believe it to be strictly true—otherwise we should not insert it.

to pray; and I firmly believe that my prayers were heard, and to this I attribute the preservation of my life once, on occasion of my running away from Matanzas to Havana, as I will relate hereafter.

Although oppressed with so many sufferings, sometimes I gave way to the impulses of my naturally cheerful character. Whenever I went to Senor Estorino's house, I used to draw decorations on paper, figures on cards or pasteboard, and scenes from Chinese shades, then making frames of wild canes, for puppet shows, with a pen-knife, the puppets seemed to dance by themselves. I painted also portraits of the sons of Don Felix Llano, Don Manuel and Don Felix Puebla, Don Francisco Madruga, and many others; to see all this, there used to come several boys of the town, and on these occasions, I used to do my best to enliven these entertainments.

Some time after this, we went to Havana, where I was appointed to the service of young Don Nicolas, who esteemed me not as a slave, but as a son, notwithstanding his youth. In his company the sadness of my soul began to disappear, but soon after I contracted a disease in my chest, with a spasmodic cough, of which, with the assistance of Doctor Francisco Lubian, and with time and youth, I was perfectly cured. As I said before, I was now kindly treated, and never was without money in my pocket. My business was to take care of his wardrobe, to clean his shoes, and wait upon him: he only forbade me going out by myself, to go to the kitchen, and to have any intercourse with loose characters; and as he himself, though young, was very circumspect, so he wished every one about him to be; I never received any reprimand from him, and I loved him very much. As soon as day dawned, I used to get up, prepare his table, arm-chair, and books, and I adapted myself so well to his customs and manners, that I began to give myself up to study. From his books of rhetoric, I learnt by heart, a lesson every day, which I used to recite like a parrot, without knowing the meaning; but being tired of it, I determined to do something more useful, and that was to learn to write: but here was a difficulty. I did not know how to begin, nor did I know how to mend a pen, and I would not touch any of my master's; however, I bought ink, pens, and penknife, and some very fine paper; then taking some of the bits of written paper thrown away by my master, I put a piece of them between one of my fine sheets, and traced the characters underneath, in order to accustom my hand to make letters; with stratagem, at the end of a month I could write almost the same hand as my master's. Extremely pleased with myself, I employed the hours from five to ten every evening, exercising my hand to write, and in day-time I used to copy the inscriptions at the bottom of pictures hung in the walls; by these

means, I could imitate the best hand writing. My master was told how I employed the evenings, and once he surprised me with all my writing apparatus, but he only advised me to drop that pastime, as not adapted to my situation in life, and that it would be more useful to me to employ my time in needle-work, a business that indeed at the same time I did not neglect. In vain was I forbidden to write, for when everybody went to bed, I used to light a piece of candle, and then at my leisure I copied the best verses, thinking that if I could imitate these, I would become a poet. Once, some of my sonnets fell into one of my friends' hands, and Doctor Coronado was the first to foretell, that I would be a great poet, notwithstanding all opposition; he was told how I had taught myself to write, and he encouraged me, saying, that many of the great poets began in the same way.

(To be Continued.)

For the Non-Slaveholder.

"BE NOT A PARTAKER OF OTHER MEN'S SINS."—1 TIM. 5: 22.

"The articles you make use of cannot be produced without some time and labor, be the quantity what it may. Allowing the labor of a slave six or twelve years, to produce all the various slave-grown products which you may use during the course of your life, would not he who was so occupied be in effect YOUR SLAVE, during the time he was thus employed?"

Do you not receive as much benefit from his oppression, as the individual who is his nominal owner, but in fact, for that length of time, only your AGENT? Will the circumstance of this portion of labor, being divided among many persons, create any difference? By paying another for the commission of a crime which you would not dare to commit yourself, are you not, for the time that is necessary to produce the articles you consume, YOURSELF A SLAVEHOLDER.—[Communicated.]

Conclusion of the venerable THOMAS CLARKSON's speech on taking the chair as President of the General Anti-Slavery Convention, in London, 6 mo. 12, 1840.

"My dear friends, you have a most difficult task to perform; it is neither more nor less than the extirpation of slavery from the *whole world*. Your opponents who appear the most formidable, are the cotton and other planters in the southern parts of the United States; who, I am grieved to say, hold more than two millions of their fellow-creatures in the most cruel bondage. Now, we know of these men, that they are living in the daily habits of injustice, cruelty and oppression, and may be therefore said to have no true fear of God, nor any just sense of religion. You cannot therefore, expect to have the same hold upon the consciences of these as you have upon the consciences of others. How then can you get at them so as to influence their conduct? There is one way; you must endeavor to make them feel their guilt in its consequences. You must endeavor by all justifiable means to affect their temporal interests. You must endeavor, among other things, to have the produce of free tropical labor brought into the markets of Europe, and undersell them there; and if you can do this, your victory is sure. I have only now to say, may the Supreme Ruler of all human events, at whose disposal are not only the hearts but the intellects of men, may He in his abundant mercy, guide your councils, and give His blessing upon your labors."

A SLAVEHOLDER'S VIEW OF THE TENDENCY OF SOUTHERN HABITS.

The blind pursuit of wealth, for the sake of hoarding is a species of insanity. There are

spirits, and not the least worthy, who, content with a humble mediocrity, leave the field of ambition open to more active, perhaps more guilty, competitors. Nothing can be more respectable than the independence that grows out of self-denial. The man who, by abridging his wants, can find time to devote to the cultivation of his mind, or the aid of his fellow creatures, is a being far above the plodding sons of industry and gain. This a spirit of the noblest order. But what shall we say to the drone, whom society is eager to "shake from her encumbered lap?"—who lounges from place to place, and spends more time in "Adonizing" his person, even in a morning, than would serve to earn his breakfast?—who is curious in his living, a connoisseur in wines, fastidious in his cookery; but who never knew the luxury of earning a single meal? Such a creature, *spunging* from house to house, and always on the borrow, may yet be found in Virginia.—One more generation, will I trust, put an end to them; and their posterity, if they have any, must work or steal *directly*.—*Letter of John Randolph of Roanoke.*

THE NON-SLAVEHOLDER.

PHILADELPHIA, SIXTH MONTH, 14, 1854.

WILLIAM FORSTER.

In pursuing this memoir, we continue to make extracts from the Letters of Wm. Forster to Joseph John Gurney. Being limited in space and anxious to present as speedily as possible an account of the labors of his latter years, we extract sparingly, though we are sure that our readers will value the insight thus afforded into his soul's recesses, more than a mere history of those actions which, performed publicly, are to some extent already known to them.

It will be understood that there were many interesting events of his life, of which we do not attempt to make a record. This task must devolve upon those to whom the privilege peculiarly belongs. His labors as a minister of the Gospel of Christ were almost without intermission. At different periods in the course of his ministry, he visited the various meetings in England, Scotland and Ireland, and was engaged in other more extended missions, which will be referred to in due course.

He returned from his first visit to the American Continent in the sixth Month, 1825. Shortly after this, his friend having placed in Wm. Forster's hands the manuscript of his Essays on Christianity, he thus expressed his appreciation of the work:

"I think of thee with great comfort, and much sweet hope in the Lord is present with me on thy behalf, my precious friend, in the remembrance of that faithful word of promise given by our Lord to His servants, His anointed ones of every generation, in Matt xxviii, 20—in which

I trust it is given thee day by day to feel thou hast a most blessed interest. * * * The Lord is with thee—thy Saviour is thy Counsellor and strength, and I doubt not He will do all things for thee. * * * Thou must allow me, in true brotherly love, to offer thee my warmest congratulations that thou hast been enabled to bring out thy Essays so much to thy *relief* of mind. By this term, I wish to convey something more than a mere rest from labor and perplexity, which I can easily believe must have been sufficient for the day, whilst thou wast conducting it through the press, but that it is permitted thee to enter into the rest of quietness and peace, and to rely upon the mercy and power of our Lord, for His blessing upon thy labors. I entertain a most lively and cheering hope of the usefulness of thy book: that in this cloudy and dark day, it will tend to the establishment of the wavering, to the fortifying of the feeble minded, and put to silence the cavils of many a proud and self sufficient gainsayer. And to the anxious inquirer after the truth as it is in Jesus, I firmly believe it will be rendered peculiarly helpful and valuable. In short, I cannot but look upon it as one of those labors of love that will be made to abound 'by many thanksgivings unto God.' It would be strange if I did not feel more than a common and passing interest in the work, for I think I never found myself, upon any occasion, so much anticipated. It gives utterance to my own views and feelings in such lucid and convincing language, and withal, it solves some of my difficulties so thoroughly and satisfactorily, that it will be likely to be most valuable to me for the purpose of Christian doctrine. I long to see it in its finished state, and shall be rather impatient till thy kind present arrive."

In a subsequent letter (written when confined by indisposition and whilst the MS. Essays were still in his possession,) he says: "thy book will be good company—it is so much like thyself—and I find it so thoroughly satisfactory, and on many points so very confirming to my own sentiments and principles. * * The farther I go into thy Elementary Essays, the more I am interested by them, and I do most sincerely thank thee for the privilege of looking them over. I have marked a few passages on which I shall enjoy to converse with thee when we meet." Again: "I shall greatly enjoy having the remainder of thy book. The more I think of it, the more I feel its importance, and the more I am satisfied that though it may be met-by some few doubts and fears at first, yet, that it will ultimately settle well on the minds of Friends, both in our own particular department and every other, of the true Church."

Bradpole, 12th Mo., 17th, 1826.

My dearest Joseph,

I have been sitting alone, since Willy went off to bed, in a serious and thoughtful mind, look-

ing over Wm. Edmundson's and John Fothergill's travels in America, as related in their respective Journals, and now, before I retire, I must, for my own satisfaction, try and write a line or two to thee, my beloved friend, which must, (as I increasingly feel all written communication does) fall very far short of expressing what I feel towards thee, and for all who love our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity.

"There is a certain sort of pain, (and a pleasurable pain it is,) in feeling to what great degree Christian fellowship is an *inexpressible* enjoyment, and how hard it is to convey to our nearest friends, even to them by whom our individual phraseology is the best understood, our religious feeling and our spiritual views. I cannot but believe that the Apostles knew something of it, but in the unity of the Spirit they found a medium of intercourse opened to them, and for all who are seeking to walk in the Light, through which they could salute each other in the name of the Lord, and rejoice over one another's faith and love and fruitfulness. Their's was a measure according to their fullness of stature: and though ours may be according to our state of infancy in the new man, our infirmities, our remaining corruptions, the smallness of our faith, and the feebleness of our love, yet, through the goodness of the Lord, we are not strangers to that oneness of Spirit which is in the Truth,—that fellowship which is with the Father and with the Son. Much of this comforting and precious enjoyment has been with me of late in thinking of thee, and during my late journey I made two attempts to write thee, but I was not able to finish my letter. I regretted it the more because though I can scarcely be said to keep up a regular correspondence with any other of my friends, yet I do aim at something of the kind with thee, and thy letters are so very much one of my greatest enjoyments, I always feel the blank if I am long without hearing from thee. * * *

"I take comfort in thinking that perhaps thou art now permitted to rest for a little while upon thy oars, and art quietly yielding thyself to the current which is bearing thee onwards to a larger and more important field of Gospel labor. I am very much of the opinion that the *preparation* for the work, as well as the actual accomplishment of every religious service, is of the Lord; and that of ourselves we cannot effect the one any more than the other. There is such a vast and wonderful diversity in the means which God is pleased to employ for the accomplishment of His own purposes, both as it relates to different individuals and to the same person at different times, that it is not for us to say through what dispensations he may condescend to work, to bring his servants into a state of acceptable dedication before him, or through what instrumentality such baptisms of the Spirit may be administered, as may conduce to their fitness to receive the renewings of the holy anointing, or tend to

their religious usefulness among those to whom he may be pleased to send them. It is sometimes hard for us to believe that the temptations, the conflicts, the discouragements, and perplexities we have to endure, as they relate to others as well as to ourselves, can ever be so far sanctified as to be rendered instrumental to the good of those, for whom, under the influence of the love of Christ, we may be the most deeply interested. Yet so I do believe it is, and the more we are plunged into these depths, the more fully we are prepared to speak of those deliverances, and of that Redemption which constitutes the essence and is the very joy of the Gospel of Christ. And thus, whatever may be given us to bring forth from the treasury, whether they be things new or old, if it be but in the authority of His Power and Love, all will bear the evidence of the workmanship of His hand, and tend to the exaltation of His ever glorious name. It is under some such considerations as these, that I entertain a strong and cheering confidence for thee my dearest friend, that God will supply all thy need, that thy going will be in the fullness of the blessing of the Gospel of Christ, and that, whatever may be the trials of the day, the Lord will be thy strength and thy shield. I have the nearest sympathy, and the most entire unity with thee in thy prospects towards Ireland, and I cannot but believe that the time as well as the concern, will be found to be of the Lord's appointment."

2 Mo. 1st, 1827. "Whether I have a right apprehension or not of Eccl. ix. 4, 'For to him that is joined to the living there is hope,'—I not only think it a great privilege, but I can take comfort for myself in believing that I may be allowed to regard it as a token for good, that I enjoy some little capacity for sympathy with those who, baptized of the Lord for the service to which he is pleased to appoint them, are sent forth in His name to proclaim the Gospel of His Son. There is a course of discipline, and there are plunges into suffering and conflict, peculiar to such exercise of faith, and possibly it may be no very large proportion of the believers in Christ who are fully apprized of the depth and strength of these conflicts. But there are those who have seen the 'works of the Lord and his wonders in the deep,' and who have cause to bless His holy name for the support which He has vouchsafed unto them, under those dispensations in which He may have seen meet to instruct them, to an understanding of the vanity of the help of man. Thus I believe it to have been with thee my beloved brother, and my joy and consolation in the Lord is very great on thy behalf, and very much is it to my strength and confirmation that I can entertain such confidence for thee in the aboundings of the Grace of our Lord Jesus Christ towards thee, and through thee to His Church in those places to which He is about to send thee."

On another occasion, when Joseph John Gurney was about to leave home upon a religious engagement, Wm. Forster says, in a letter of Christian sympathy to his friend :

"I am often reminded of dear Priscilla's* words, *how she had found the gift to be distinct from herself*. To them who have once known this as she knew it, and as thou hast known it, nothing can be more satisfactory than to have it renewed and confirmed on every occasion. But how little is it that those whom the Lord has set apart as vessels for his own use, are able to believe that He is effecting this work within them by their baptisms into humiliation and suffering, almost unto death, and how much we are apt, in such seasons of trial, to think the dispensations under which we are made to suffer, unlike every thing we have known in earlier days. Could we discover exactly the same features in every baptism, they might not so fully answer the purpose. In the depth of our abasement we can comprehend neither the means nor the end.—'What I do thou knowest not *now*, but thou *shalt know hereafter*.' Thus it is that we are taught, first to trust, then to hope, and subsequently are made to rejoice, to give thanks, and to praise the name of OUR Redeemer, and to acknowledge to his mercy and truth, and power."

10 Mo. 8th, 1830. He wrote to his wife's brother :

"We had a very pleasant visit from the Chalmers' yesterday. The Doctor was very friendly and kind to me, and gave me a great deal of his mind on a variety of subjects : Nat. Theology—its bearings on Christianity—the external evidence of the Christian religion—Mechanics' Institutes, and their moral and religious tendency—the success of the forgery question, (with which he was delighted)—Brougham—Lushington—J. J. Gurney and his book, (both of which are in high favor)—Edinboro' and the University—&c., &c. I met him this morning in Town at an early breakfast ; and did not fail to make the best use of my time. We had Geology and the harmlessness of the object, upon which it was quite a treat to hear him : and he opened very fully upon his favorite topic of the poor laws and the support of the poor. They seem much to have valued their intercourse with you, and their visit at Hampstead. In our intimate communication, which was in private, I had some opportunity of seeing the interior of his social mind, and I was quite delighted with his most kind feeling for his Brother—his deep-rooted humility, and thorough upright christian principle. * * * *

"I should have been glad to have a little more time in Town to get further information respecting the poor '*Van Deimaners*;' but I have got things into such a train, that I shall be able to follow it up. At the office of the Van Dieman's Land Comp. in Broad street, I heard that the

* Priscilla Gurney.

Government had declared Martial Law against the natives ; which I suppose is a sort of license to every Settler to kill every "Black Man."

In the subject of education, both religious and literary, his interest was deep and his views were liberal and just. "I am glad," (he writes in 1825 to J. J. G.), that thou and dear Samuel were at Ackworth. I should like very much to know thy impression, as to the general state of the Institution, and how far the mode of Scripture instruction continues to answer thy wishes. The education of our young people was never a subject of deeper interest to me, and I am glad to find that Friends are so much alive to a sense of its importance. I like the idea of Latin classes at Ackworth. I have taken dearest Willy's lessons in hand, and perhaps my mind is just now quite enough engrossed in his education. I wish, at some future leisure hour, thou wouldst have the kindness to give me thy ideas on the subject of *early* education, both literary and religious ; and I am not sure whether, if thy views on the subject, were made more public, they might not be useful among Friends. We want something of the sort for our *own people*."

His solicitude respecting religious training is more fully developed, in various letters written to the same valued friend,—as also his desire for a general and enlightened appreciation of the sacred record which was graciously given to man by his Creator and his God, and which certainly claims from us our reverent, diligent, and studious attention. Whilst we thankfully acknowledge that the saving doctrines of our holy religion are so clearly set forth in the Scriptures of Truth, that the simple and unlearned, reading them with the blessed aid of the Spirit of Christ, will not fail to become wise unto salvation ; it appears to us as strange as it is unreasonable, that christian men should decry in the gross, all commentaries upon the Bible. As if these persons, or any persons, could, without study, and without the help of the Biblical researches of others, obtain an insight into the stores of knowledge which lie hidden in many a sacred text, as if, indeed, the Scriptures which were given to us for our learning, comprise more than it is worth our while to seek to comprehend. We spare room for but one brief extract :

3 Mo. 25th, 1828. "I am much pleased by thy report of thy literary occupations. Thy critical dissertations, so far as they are in our mother tongue, will be very much to my taste. Every object connected with Scriptural study and research, is more than ever a matter of importance and interest with me."

In the same letter he says :

"I wonder what thou wilt say if I tell thee that I am trying my hand upon one or two little matters. I have been endeavoring to put together a few remarks on SLAVERY, as connected with the doctrines and practice of the early Christians, * * * My little piece, if ever

I finish it, (and it is more adapted to the opinion and feeling of the people in Carolina, Georgia, &c., than in this country,) and thou shouldst think it fit to see the light, I intend dubbing with the title of Philemon and Onesimus. And I have thought of trying to form something small and concise on the plan of a Biographical Dictionary of the New Testament. I think rather a pleasant and useful compendium of the sort might be made, which would not be altogether unacceptable to young people."

Whether he made much progress in this interesting engagement we are not advised. His compilation of two useful little volumes, *The Life of John the Baptist*, and *The Life of the Apostle Peter*, may have been the carrying out, in part, of this plan.

We have before us evidence that William Forster, as an enlightened christian patriot, took a comprehensive view of national and local matters, to which, as affecting the interests of his countrymen, he could not be indifferent. Yet being watchful unto prayer, of a Godly circumspection, and quick of apprehension in the fear of the Lord, he was preserved from the snares and the excitement through which too many wound their own peace. The following extract from a letter written on the eve of an election in 1834, illustrates his conscientiousness.

"We shall have no contest for the County of Dorset: and our part of the Parish of Bradpole not being included within the Borough of Bridport, I have no vote for the Town,—therefore I am happy to say that I am out of the way of the excitement and strife which seem so general on every hand. But I have not been backward in declaring my determination not to vote for any candidate, who will not come under engagement, both for himself and his Committee, not to open public houses, or give any strong drink on the occasion. The practice, I am sorry to say, is so general, that if I adhere to this resolution, it is very doubtful whether I shall ever exercise my right of suffrage again. If the friends of morality and good order would adopt the same course, I do not believe it would be long before something effectual would be done towards restraining the vice and intemperance which an election is almost sure to produce."

On receiving from Joseph John Gurney a copy of his beautiful and invaluable little work on the habitual exercise of love to God as a preparation for Heaven, he thus acknowledged it, 12 Mo., 22d, 1834.

"Many thanks for thy little book. I think it very valuable, and would encourage thee to a large and cheap edition. I am glad to see that while writing on the LOVE OF GOD, thou hast been enabled to hold the balance with so much of an even hand, and hast not omitted all mention of his Justice and Holiness. The last chapter pleases me much. Couldst thou have given a distinct paragraph in thy clearest, strongest

language, on the guilt and hatefulness of War, I think it would have made it more to my mind. I see that the subject is hinted at in several places, but feeling as I do that we ought to leave no opportunity unemployed of entering our protest against this abomination, I should have been glad that in a work not professedly a *Friends Book*, it might have been made to appear that we need no other instrumentality than the application and following out of the principle of "Love to Man," as thou hast stated it, to bring to pass all the moral, social and political blessing, foreseen by the Prophets, and so decidedly spoken of by them, as constituting in part the glory of the latter days. Few subjects have lately had more of my deepest feeling and thoughtfulness: perhaps my views are crude and exaggerated—but, in thinking of it, as I often do, I am so much overwhelmed with a sense of the sinfulness of War, and its many *contingencies*, that it goes hard with me to reconcile myself to what appears to me the unchristian views that have been entertained by many good men on the subject. Oh! had we this love genuine from the inexhaustible Source of the Spirit's fullness, what would it not affect among us! what forbearance and perseverance in entreaty and persuasion, what forgiveness of injuries—what a carrying out of all the righteousness of the Lamb into our every day intercourse, our civil concerns, and national politics! What prayer would there be to God, that He would help us to settle our disputes without recourse to violent measures, and that he would preserve us from everything liable to interrupt the peaceable harmony of his government among men."

To be continued.

OUR GUILTY NATION.—The Infamous Nebraska Bill has become a Law. Its enactment was marked by bold wickedness on the part of some members of the National Legislature, and of cowardly wickedness on the part of others: by meanness on the part of all who supported the measure. Franklin Pierce has fully demonstrated his unworthiness of the office which he degrades. Were he and his fellow champions of human slavery, doomed to labor in the rice swamp and the cane or cotton field, and to wear the chain, to feel the whip, to bear the scar of the branding iron—to eat the coarse and often stunted food of the bondman, and to keep within prescribed limits at the peril of being hunted by blood hounds and by

"Men more savage far than they,"—

we should, (for they are human beings,) lament their cruel lot. How much more entitled to our earnest sympathy are those who *through these men* are held, or shall be held as "chattels and things personal,"—and those who, outwearied with unbearable oppression, escape from bondage only to be re-captured, in the land of freedom, in the very midst of sympathizing hearts,

by men whose souls are degraded to the standard of an unrighteous law, and who can see no image or superscription but that of Caesar, upon the fellow immortal whom God created for happiness, for glory and for virtue, whom Christ, by a ransom of unapproachable value, hath made His own.

Franklin Pierce will not sleep sweetly, nor have innocent dreams. The gangrene of a deadly sin is a deeper wound than the domestic affliction which shaded the triumph of his election; and whenever he shall be driven home to his own soul, he will not find that the Son of Peace is there. The Senators and Representatives of the people who have committed this great iniquity, will go forth among their fellows, seeking to gloss over their crime. They will speak of black men as "*niggers*," whilst public opinion will apply to them a darker epithet. They will feel the curse of Cain heavy at their hearts. They will be strangers to the way of peace. They will bear about them a moral taint. Let all christian parents shield their children from intercourse with them, lest, like them and like a prominent character in Milton's glorious Poem, they learn to say, "Evil be thou my good!"

The Magnetic Telegraph has proclaimed their infamy in every direction, and our readers have already full accounts of this transaction and of the Boston excitement, and the rendition of Burns. We can give them no information, and, we feel little ability to comment upon the disgraceful and afflicting facts. Unhappy country! whose laws, thus adverse to humanity, involve horrible guilt in their execution, and so outrage the sympathies which lean to virtue, as to play upon man's sense of right till he is provoked into violence and wrong.

Never was there greater need for Christian watchfulness than now. Never more necessity to heed the injunction,—"*Be ye angry and sin not.*" Let anti-slavery men every where, dwell under a deep sense of the perfect sovereignty of God, and neither dare to cater to a corrupt popular sentiment, nor to cower before the wrong, nor to falter in upholding the Right, nor presume to violate any precept of the Prince of Peace, under the presumptuous notion that the All-Powerful needs such helpers. "I will," (said one who long before had vainly thought by violent deeds to do God service,) "that men pray every where,—lifting up holy hands, without wrath." Of this we may be certain, that Jehovah has purposes of infinite wisdom, which He will perfect in His own time, and that no man by "doing evil that good may come of it," can hasten that "good time coming," which "God hath reserved in His own power." Let each one then, keep his own spirit, guard his own conduct, "looking unto Jesus"—giving no aid or countenance to wicked laws, and bearing for Christ's sake, the penalty, if any there be, of non-compliance. Who can compute the force

of such heroic non-compliance? Were all the northern men *thus* to testify against the rendition of slaves, we should need no *underground* railroad. The track to Canada might be in the light of day, with Telegraphs at every station, and the Mahos and Suttles might condole with one another about the locomotive tendencies of "chattels personal."

JOHN G. WHITTIER. A silly rumor being circulated during the excitement in Boston, that Whittier had proffered aid in "money or muscle," he addressed to the Editor of the Boston Times the following letter.

AMESBURY, 29th, 5th month, 1854

In thy paper of this morning I see a paragraph stating that at a meeting of colored citizens in Boston, a document was read from me tendering aid for the liberation of the new victim of the Fugitive Slave Law. As the paragraph stands, it might be inferred that I was in favor of the extreme measures said to have been proposed to the meeting; and I only notice it for the opportunity of saying that so far from counselling resistance, I have always and on all occasions deprecated it, and have, on the present occasion, most earnestly entreated my friends in Boston to abstain from even the appearance of it. That I feel indignant at this new outrage—that I look with horror upon the Fugitive Slave Law, and deeply sympathize with its victims I need not say. But I regard all violence as evil and self-destructive, and earnestly desire that the sons of freedom and humanity may be preserved from it; and if my voice could reach my colored friends especially, I would say—Be calm, be patient—God rules, and oppression cannot endure forever. J. G. WHITTIER.

OUR BELOVED FRIENDS OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY DEPUTATION, JOSIAH FORSTER, JOHN CANDLER, AND WILLIAM HOLMES, after a pleasant and favorable voyage of 12 days, landed at Liverpool about 5 o'clock on the afternoon of the 28th ult., where they were met, with a warm welcome and with deep emotion, by relatives and other dear friends. From several persons who were their fellow passengers on the steamer Atlantic, we learn that JOHN CANDLER gave the Ship's Company an address on the state of things in the West India Islands. It was well received, and interested the audience, which comprised several southern men, one of whom (from Louisiana) is said to claim ownership in 1500 fellow beings.

OUR BOOK TABLE.

We have been *compelled* to neglect this department for some months. The Report of the New York Free Produce Association of Friends, though dated 5 Mo 23d has reached us after this No. is in type.

STRUGGLES FOR LIFE; or the Autobiography of a dissenting minister," Phila. Lindsay & Blakiston, pp. 384.

We had marked passages to insert but cannot find or make room. It is a readable good book, and we are assured that it is a true narrative, although the writer's name is suppressed.

REPORT made to the Board of Controllers of Public Schools of the first School District of Penna., on the subject of PHONOGRAPHY, by a special Committee, &c, &c, Read April 11th, 1854.

This is an interesting and important document, from which we would be glad to extract. It demonstrates all that it attempts to prove. We commend it to the attention of all, and especially of the Youth of both sexes.

Printed at the Gazette Office, Burlington, N. J.

THE NON-SLAVEHOLDER.

"Whoso gives the motive, makes his brother's sin his own."

VOL. II.—NEW SERIES.]

PHILADELPHIA, SEVENTH MONTH, 1854.

[No. 7.]

WILLIAM J. ALLINSON, EDITOR.

PUBLISHED MONTHLY

BY GEORGE W. TAYLOR,

North West Corner of Fifth and Cherry Streets,
PHILADELPHIA.

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FREE LABOR MANUFACTORY.

By the liberality of a few friends of the Free labor cause, sufficient funds have been offered to purchase the requisite amount of machinery for a small experimental mill. At a meeting of the contributors, Samuel Rhoads and Richard Richardson were appointed Trustees of the Fund. A Mill-building with water power, favorably situated, has been rented for five years, a manager engaged, and the machinery ordered. Some cotton has also been ordered. It has been suggested that the fund for supplying the mill with cotton be kept separate from the machinery fund. It is desirable that those who intend aiding the enterprise, and have not yet subscribed, will do so without delay, giving authority with their subscriptions, to the Trustees, to add their contributions to the cotton fund, in case it should not be needed for the machinery. The funds applied to the purchase of cotton, will be secured by stock on hand, and six per cent interest paid to the contributors, irrespective of the profit or loss on buying and holding the cotton. The contributors to this fund, can appoint the same or other individuals as Trustees of their fund. There will be no individual liability of the contributors to either fund, beyond the amount of money they respectively furnish. A part of the money will be needed by the middle of ninth month or earlier; and probably all by the first of the tenth month. Contributors will therefore please be in readiness.

GEO. W. TAYLOR, N. W. Corner of
5th and Cherry Sts. Phila.

JUAN PLACIDO—THE CUBAN POET.

(Continued from page 51.)

At this time my master was near contracting an alliance with Senorita Donna Teresa de H., and I was the messenger between them, an office very productive, since I had plenty of money given to me, so much that I did not know what to do with it; I bought a handsome inkstand, a rule, and a good provision of pens, ink, and paper; the rest of my money I sent to my mother. We went to Guanajay on a visit to Count de G., where my future young mistress resided. As the first needle-work my mistress made was dress-making, under the care of Senora Domingo, her dress-maker; I learned to make fine dresses, and I had the honor to make some dresses for my future mistress, in recompense for which I experienced all sorts of kindness; and when they were married I was their page, and as I was so punctual in attendance on them, I was treated more kindly from day to day.—But this happiness lasted only about three years, when my former mistress of Matanzas, hearing reports so favorable of me, resolved to take me into her own service again. At this time I was so punctual in attending sick people, though only eighteen years old, that whenever there was a person ill in the family, they asked permission of my mistress to let me attend upon them. One of them was Don Jose Maria P. who was very ill; I prepared for him his bath, administered the doctor's prescriptions in due time, helped him to rise from his bed, watched the whole of the night, with paper and ink before me, and put down, for the guidance of the doctor, the time that he slept, whether composedly or not; how many times he awoke, how many he coughed, if he snored, &c.; I was much praised for this by the doctors, Don Andres Terriltes, Don Nicolas Gutierrez, and others. While I was attending this gentleman, my former mistress arrived, and intimated very kindly to me her intention to take me back. I listened to her sorrowfully, for my heart became oppressed at the thoughts of returning to those places so memorable and sad to me. I was obliged to follow her to her sister's, the Countess of B. where she was on a visit for a few days; she forbade me to bid farewell to my young masters, but I stole away unperceived, and went to take leave of them. Don Nicolas, who since his childhood

was very partial to me, took leave of me weeping, as also his lady, both loading me with presents; the Senora gave me some Holland handkerchiefs and two gold doubloons; Don Nicolas all my clothes, including two new coats, and a gold doubloon besides. I left them so downcast and with such sad forebodings, that early next morning I ventured to ask for paper and ink, in order to advertise for a new master. This quite astonished my mistress, and saying that she took me back for my own sake, and that I had better stop with her till she made some other arrangements, and when she turned her back I was sorry for having given her this uneasiness. At dinner-time, she mentioned my boldness to her sister the Countess, and, with an angry tone, said to me before all the company, "this is the return you intend to make for all the care I took in your education; did I ever put my hands on you?" I was very near saying, yes, many a time, but thought better to say no. She then asked me if I remembered her mamma? and at my answering, yes; she said, "I occupy her place, mind that," here the conversation dropt. After prayers in the afternoon, I was sent for by the Countess and Donna Maria Pizarro, who both tried to persuade me to desist from my intention. I plainly told them, that I was afraid of my mistress's fiery temper; this conversation ended by the Countess advising me to stop with my mistress till she thought proper to give me my liberty.

Some time after this we left Matanzas, stopping at the Molino. Here they pointed out to me my new duties, and I acquitted myself so much to their satisfaction, that in a short time I was the head servant of the house. During all this time, after superintending the business of the house, and after breakfast, I used to employ myself at needlework. At the end of about two weeks after we were in town, it happened that one morning oversleeping myself, a cock found his way into my room, which was close to that of my mistress; the cock crew, I do not know how many times, I only heard him once, I started from my bed, and went about my business, and were it not for the interference of Don Thomas Gener, who, at my request, kindly interceded for me, I should not have escaped being sent to the Molino.

When I was about nineteen years of age, I had some pride in acquitting myself of my duties, so much to the satisfaction of my mistress, and never waited to be ordered twice; at this time I could not bear to be scolded at trifles; but the propensity to humble the self-love of those who are in the good graces of their masters, is a contagious disease in all rich families. Such was the case with a person, who without any cause or provocation on my part, began to treat me badly, calling me bad names, all of which I suffered, till he called my mother out of her name: then I retorted on him a similar expression, he gave

me a blow, which I could not avoid, and I returned it. My mistress was out, and I was to go after her at the house of the Senora. When we returned, she was told of what happened; I excused myself, saying, that I could not suffer my mother so bad a name; "So," said she, "if he repeats it again, you will not respect my house!" At the third day we went to breakfast to the Molino: meanwhile I was uneasy, I had before me all the vicissitudes of my life, and was apprehensive of what was to come.

Passages from our Correspondence.

Continued from page 50.

ERIE Co., N. Y., (with \$5 and 20 names.)

"As I have only spoken to a part of the inhabitants, it is probable that with a little exertion the list of subscribers will be much enlarged. Those whose names are appended, are anxious to have their papers immediately, with all the back numbers of the current volume. Some friends of the cause wish the Non-Slaveholder enlarged. Others, who have previously taken no interest in the subject, say that the paper is so small and cheap that they are willing to subscribe and examine for themselves."

The same diligent Friend writes, about two weeks later, (enclosing 8 subscriptions) "Having for many years felt a deep interest in the free-labor movement, and endeavored to clear my own hands from the gain of oppression, I have often attributed the indifference of many of my acquaintances to a want of proper information on the subject. I have therefore, taken pains to circulate the Non-Slaveholder, and some who expressed antipathy to what they called *fanatical* papers, are willing to read and judge for themselves of the free-labor system."

MARION Co., INDIANA. "I am much pleased with the contents of the Non-Slaveholder, and have used efforts for its circulation throughout our neighborhood and Monthly Meeting, and believe that it is doing good in this country."

CANADA WEST. I send \$1 for three subscriptions for the N. Slaveholder, also the postage to the lines. This is a small beginning, but I hope to do better. Hitherto the people of this country have been wrapped in apathy on the subject of slavery, feeling that they were, in great measure, clear of the sin. But the late atrocious acts of the American Congress in the Nebraska robbery, have roused the feelings of some, and already there is a strong under current of indignant feeling, which begins to manifest itself, and we want light diffused."

WESTERN NEW YORK. "The N. Slaveholder, always a welcome visitor, is additionally so since the publication of the memoir of dear W. Forster. Allow me to suggest that if the paper could be doubled in size for a few months, and the additional space devoted to this interesting and important subject, it would relieve a very justifiable impatience to see the whole history,

and perhaps obviate the necessity of an abbreviation which would be a source of regret to many. It is due to Friends in this country who are concerned for the abolition of slavery, to give them all that is known of this veteran in the cause of Freedom and of our Lord and Saviour."

[We have found it advisable to give occasional extracts from letters received, and should extend this department could we afford the room. Many of our correspondents wish the N. Slaveholder enlarged. Many others wish to receive it semi-monthly: To such Friends we answer, that altho' our number of readers is large, yet the subscription price is so low that the publication involves an annual loss. If the paper were doubled in size, we might readily present a far more valuable course of reading matter, in quality not less than in quantity, but to do this, an expense of at least \$400 would be incurred, and no one would wish, we presume, to add this burden to that already borne by our valued friend, the Publisher. Ed.]

For the Non Slaveholder.

DIALOGUE BETWEEN A SLAVEHOLDER AND AN ABOLITIONIST.

Slaveholder. What is your opinion in regard to slavery? I understand you are an abolitionist.

Abolitionist. You are quite correct. I have never shrunk from the open avowal of my sentiments on the subject, and I tell you plainly, I hold that the individual who deprives a human being of liberty, is guilty of the highest crime it is possible for man to commit, except it be wilfully taking the life of another.

S. Who is responsible for slavery?

A. The slaveholder of course. The voice of the whole civilized world condemns the iniquitous system.

S. What do you suppose is our *motive* in committing what you consider so great a sin?

A. The desire to realize large profits on the production of your staple commodities, cotton, sugar, and rice, for the sake of *gain*, you rob a man of himself, and if convenience requires, of his wife and children—you rob him of the fruits of his toil—blot out his intellectual existence, and reduce him to a beast of burden.

S. Who *buys* our cotton, sugar and rice?

A. (Hesitating) I suppose mostly, non-slaveholders.

S. Are *they* opposed to slavery, I would ask?

A. I have not thought of that, but of course most of them are.

S. Strange you do not see that those who purchase our goods and give us our profits, are in *league* with us; I have heard say, "the receiver is as bad as the thief." This is countenancing in *action*, what you so loudly condemn in *words*.

A. Well, yes, I suppose it must look a little so to you, but it is quite *inconvenient* to obtain free goods, and we could not now command a

full supply, then the demand for such goods is so small that they cost more.

S. Have *we* not quite as good an excuse for slavery? Would it not be much more *inconvenient* for us to do without our slaves, and in many cases to reduce ourselves to actual poverty? I say slavery is an evil, and a curse, but to get rid of it involves us in a thousand fold more difficulty and sacrifice, than you could possibly feel in abstaining from the luxuries produced by slavery. As you have just bought my sugar and molasses, I hold myself on the same level with you. We both see the evil of slavery, but neither of us is willing to sacrifice *money* or *convenience* to principle. *Our motives are alike.* I cannot afford to give up the *slaves* I have inherited, and you cannot afford to give up the *luxuries* I produce, or to take the trouble to obtain them from free men at a little greater cost.

A. I have never thought of this before.

S. Can you not see that the slaveholder, and the consumer of slave produce stand or fall together. If you at the north, who denounce slavery as a robbery and crime, would *act* as you profess, we would listen to you; but what robber was ever yet convinced of his sin, by those who paid him for doing the disagreeable part of the business, and shared in the spoil? At present I consider myself only your *agent*. You buy and sell at the north, while I manage my plantation south, arranging every year to meet your demand. You have far less excuse for your part of slavery, than we have for ours. I have heard some who raised the loudest cry against slaveholders, say they could not afford to pay a single cent difference in favor of a yard of free cotton.

A. I have always abhorred slavery as the worst of all robbery; the greatest crime against God and man. I have raised my voice against it, even in the face of persecution and personal danger. I had thought that *I* at least, was clear of the blood of the slave. If by refraining from the purchase of your slave-grown produce, I could in any way help to overthrow slavery, I would do it with all my heart; but as there is little probability that any considerable portion of the community—even the anti-slavery community, would do the same, I do not see that it is worth while for *me* to make so great a sacrifice unless it were likely to effect a greater good.

S. Exactly so, I agree with you precisely. Living as I do, in the midst of slavery, I know and *feel* its abominations, better than you can, for I have still a human heart not wholly hardened. Never have I ceased to cherish the sentiments of freedom and humanity taught me by my mother when a little child; but I have reasoned just as you do, I do not see that my individual example and influence would effect much: I should only reduce myself to poverty, and subject myself to persecution and ridicule. So I satisfy my conscience, which is sometimes a lit-

tle troublesome, by considering that I am a kind and humane master, always abstaining from cruelty, and endeavoring to do the best I can for my servants *under the circumstances*. You see it would be folly in me as an individual, to stem the tide of opposition, or to attempt to abolish slavery through my efforts, just as it would be folly in you to refuse to purchase my produce. An individual can do but little you know.

A. And so you are willing to go on committing sin even in the face of light and knowledge, you refuse to do *your* duty because *others* will not do theirs, and because you cannot abolish slavery, you are content to uphold it by example and influence, and rob hundreds of our fellow creatures of their rights.!

S. I am not a slaveholder by choice, but by inheritance, and to emancipate my slaves reduces me at once from affluence to poverty.

A. Is not honest poverty better than ill-gotten gain? O, why will you not be true to yourself, and at once let your example be felt on the side of freedom?

S. Ah! I see you wish to preach to me. Its easy to tell others what to do. "Easier to tell twenty the good that ought to be done, than to be one of the twenty to follow your own teaching." Hav'nt you just now acknowledged that you would not make even a small sacrifice *unless every body else would do the same*, and you were sure of a great good? I say I am as good as you. You cant find the difference for your life.

The long and the short of it is, we both hate slavery as far as *talking* goes, but when it comes to *acting*, we like ease, money, and convenience.

A. Well, I wonder I have not thought of this before. To be candid, there is much reason in what you say, and I think you will have to strike me off your list of customers.

To the Editor of the Non-Slaveholder.

LOUISIANA, JUNE, 4th, 1854.

Esteemed Friend,—As respects the present prices of slaves, I would state that they are, and have been quite high for several months past. A No. one field hand, young, stout and active, will command from \$1400, to \$1600. A good mechanic, as a carpenter or blacksmith, will bring \$2000. Women do not sell so high; tho' a first rate cook may bring \$1500, but \$1250 is about the present price for "young and likely" women to work in the field. These prices are only paid for the "best of the lot," and they insured by the slave merchant for a limited time, generally three months. The insurance is against their having any acute or chronic disease at the time of sale, and sometimes against "vicious habits," foremost among which is reckoned the habit of running away. A slave is not unfrequently sold as sound, whom the trader knows not to beso. He is returned upon his hands, when he gives an inferior one in his place, or exacts \$100 or so to boot. Thus one negro may

be several times sold in the course of the season, and as frequently returned to the trader, who generally realizes from \$50 to \$150 by the operation. At the close of the business season, the trader wishing "to close out his stock," these unsound negroes, and any others that may be remaining on hand, are put up at public auction and sold to the highest bidder, generally without a warrantee, and the trader goes to the northern slave States to purchase another "gang." I do not know the exact number of slave markets in New Orleans. They are quite numerous: generally having a high board fence around the yard, and a large sign up, with the inscription,

SLAVES FOR SALE OR HIRE.

At the door will be three or four white men standing around, one at least having under his arm a large, heavy butted whip, of northern manufacture. Inside of the yard is a long frame building, having a bench on each side, on one of which, drest in their best attire, sit the women, on the other, the men who are offered for sale. As a stranger walks into the market, it is interesting to notice the anxious curiosity depicted on the countenances of its inmates. They are forming an opinion in regard to whether he will be a hard or an easy master, and in order to please their present owner, and anxious to know their fate, they assume a cheerfulness of manner to which the heart must not unfrequently, be a stranger.

I have occasionally heard it stated, (and my own observation convinces me of the truth of the statement) that at the present prices of negroes, slave labor is not generally profitable. The profit is in their increase, in the raising of slaves, either for the purpose of getting their labor on the home plantation, or in order to sell them to others. An active boy, if "good conditioned," will bring \$1000 at fifteen years of age, and the expense of raising them is but little, as on many plantations they go until ten years of age without clothes in the summer, and but a coarse cotton shirt or frock in the winter. The only feasible plan (if plan it can be called) by which to abolish slavery, is to *confine it within certain prescribed limits*, "saying unto it, hitherto shalt thou come but no further." Destroy the demand for slaves, and the institution will finally fall from its own inherent weakness and unprofitableness. But while you continue to admit new slave territory, thus furnishing fresh lands to supply the place of those which are impoverished by the exhausting system of slave labor, thus creating an increased demand for slaves, and keeping up the present high prices for them, so long will it continue. The intelligent portion of the south are not much elated with the passage of the Nebraska bill. They fear that it will make the acquisition of Cuba more difficult, and Cuba they intend to have by fair means or by foul. They also consider it as ominously esta-

blishing the fact that compromises may be repealed. I remain, &c.

For the Non-Slaveholder.

DIALOGUE ON SLAVERY.

W. Well friend H. thou hast been residing at the South, and hast been brought into immediate contact with "the peculiar institution." Upon one point in particular, I should like to know thy testimony. The South complains that Northern papers mis-represent them, by publishing isolated cases of cruelty, and conveying the idea to the public that these are a fair representation of the whole system of Slavery. Now, I have no doubt that some of the Slaveholders treat their slaves with *comparative* kindness, but in addition to the fact of their reducing the image of God to a "chattel personal" (which I consider as an unwarrantable cruelty), hast thou not known of cases in which the slaves have been treated with a harshness amounting to barbarity?

H. I am sorry to say that such cases are not unfrequent. One immediately occurs to my mind, which I will relate, prefacing it by remarking that one of the greatest offences a negro can commit against his master, is that of running away. And this for obvious reasons, as it deprives his master of the income derived from his services. In the extreme Southern States, it is almost impossible for a "runaway nigger" ultimately to escape being captured.

W. Why not go to Canada?

H. Go to Canada! How could he get there? The whole country is to him as an armed camp of an enemy. If he is seen away from home he may be questioned by any white man that meets him, and if out of his immediate neighborhood, unless he has a pass, or other sufficient evidence of his master's consent, he may be lodged in the nearest jail, advertised, and if not called for in the legal time, sold to pay his jail fees. He remains out in the woods, generally in a cane-brake in the day-time, and at night goes to the plantations, (at the risk of being caught or torn by dogs), to get somewhat to eat. No ferryman would allow him to cross the river at his ferry, and any steamboat taking him on his way to freedom, though unknowingly, may be sued for damages, and the value of the negro received of the owners of the boat. Some men have what are called "nigger dogs," for the express purpose of hunting runaway negroes. One man named — living a few miles from me, had five dogs. He charged \$10 per day for himself and dogs, "catch or no catch," but would not go out on a hunt unless the owner of the runaway would give permission that the dogs should "take hold" of the negro when caught. This was to keep them in "good heart." At one time, the dogs having been for several hours on the trail of a negro, finally "brought him to bay" in a pond of water about three feet deep, in which the ne-

gro was endeavoring to conceal himself by squatting down, leaving only his face above water. The owner of the dogs coming up, riding his splendid horse, and with his rifle in his hand, called to the negro to come on shore, telling him that if he did not the dogs would drown him and "if you strike one of them, I will shoot you." The negro arose from his position, and as he arose the dogs seized him, and he came wading to the shore dragging five hounds by their teeth. By this time his master had arrived, and said to him, "now take your choice, either to have the dogs hold you for five minutes, or two hundred lashes to-morrow." As we generally prefer future evil to present pain, so in order to be released from his painful situation, the negro chose the to-morrow's flogging. The dogs were tied with ropes and one by one "choked off" of their prey, and tied to neighboring saplings, still rearing and plunging to get at their human game. On the morrow, the negro was tied up and received one hundred and fifty lashes, when he fainted and was taken down: his master declaring that he "would teach him how to run away again."

W. Horrible! His master must have been a naturally cruel man.

H. No more so than many others. Such cases are but the legitimate results of a system, which leads those educated under its influences to look with indifference upon pain or suffering, when he who endures it has a skin "not coloured like their own," in other words, is "nothing but a nigger."

W. Well I feel like doing what I can to clear myself from all participation in, or upholding of such an iniquitous and blood cemented system. I shall be glad to hear further from thee on this subject at a future time.

H.

THE NON-SLAVEHOLDER.

PHILADELPHIA, SEVENTH MONTH, 22, 1854.

WILLIAM FORSTER.*

In a letter written 9 mo. 10th, 1833 to Joseph John Gurney, on the decease of a near relative, we find some observations which the minds of many readers will feelingly adopt in reference to the writer:

"I was, to my own apprehension, very much with you in spirit, and thought that perhaps I had some perception, however feeble it might be, of those consolations with which I could not doubt that you were abundantly comforted of God, in being enabled, for a short time, to forget yourselves and the scenes of suffering and distress of body to which you had recently been witnesses, and with reverent thanksgiving to offer spiritual worship to Him who had redeemed to Himself our beloved friend, carried her safely through all her tribulations, and at length, as a

*Continued from page 55.

shock of corn fully ripe, gathered her to an everlasting *abiding* place in the presence of His glory. How exceedingly rich in all that constitutes the joy and excellency of our holy religion is that precious word of assurance "he shall go no more out!" To those who die in the Lord we may be very sure that there is no more falling away—no more of that under which the most advanced christian is at times made to groan 'being burdened;' but, delivered from the body in which we have to suffer under a sense of the evil and bitterness of sin, the children of the Lord, without intermission to their communion with Him, and without alloy to their peace and joy, are, in the Society of multitudes more numerous than man can number, happy and blessed as themselves, established before Him *forever*. Such gleams as these from the Sun of Righteousness, seldom as it is that they break upon us in the course of our pilgrimage, may be regarded as strong and conclusive evidence of the reality and divine origin of the doctrine of the New Testament, and are, in the abounding of that grace by which we are called to eternal life through Christ Jesus our Lord, vouchsafed in moments of peculiar favor for the strengthening of our faith and ought to have the effect of quickening us to more fervent aspirations for complete purification from sin, through the power of the Holy Ghost.

What dost thou think of our projected Association for bettering the condition of the liberated or apprenticed negroes. It is an object that I have very much at heart, and could wish that I were so circumstanced as to be able to devote to it the little energy I possess. I certainly think Friends have something to do, and from that sort of feeling which seemed to prevail at the opportunities of conference at which I was present, I should be inclined to argue that they will be enabled satisfactorily to discover their path of duty, and, entering willing hearted upon the service, I trust the Society will be brought to much of that experience so richly enjoyed by the Church in early days, that it is more blessed to give than to receive."

To J. J. Gurney—(then traveling in Scotland.)

HUNTINGDON, 10mo 8th, 1836.

My dearest Joseph,

I have been so much with thee in spirit, in true brotherly christian fellowship, in the course of my solitary journey to-day, that it will be something more than mere pleasure to write thee a line or two before I retire for the night. I must, in my poor way, try to tell thee that I have inexpressible comfort and rest and peace in believing, and in being persuaded that our gracious Lord and Saviour is with thee to order all thy steps in the counsel of His wisdom, to keep thee in all thy ways, to lay thee low when, for His own purposes, He is pleased to humble thee, to empty thee that thou mayst know in whom

is all thy fullness, to supply all thy need from the abundance of His overflowing and *ever* flowing Grace, to enlarge thy heart in His all-gathering love, and to give thee mouth and wisdom, such as even the adversaries of his blessed Truth shall not be able to gainsay or resist. * * * I trust thy dear companions in the work are sometimes brought within the skirts of those showers, with which I can well believe that you are plentifully watered from above. It is a precious word of promise, rich in the unction of the *ever lasting* gospel of the Grace of God,—“He shall come down as showers.”—Oh may it be given thee thus to rejoice in the Lord day by day, and to joy in the God of thy salvation: and yet more and more to praise his glorious name, for his goodness, power and love in Christ Jesus our Redeemer."

When the same much valued correspondent was faithfully laboring in a far distant land, W. Forster wrote to him; (5 mo., 1838.) "Yearly Meeting is now nearly at hand—How I shall miss thee. But perhaps not more than I do almost every day, both at home and abroad. I never seemed so much to need thy counsel and support: for I often feel that I have scarcely a friend left in life who has, equally with thyself, an understanding of me. But I will not repine." * * * "I have been reading thy letters, and am much interested by the history of thy family visit at Philadelphia, &c. Surely our Lord and Saviour must be with thee. With what confidence may we hope that his care and love will never be withdrawn from thee." A sentiment, the correctness of which was gloriously realized, and will be admitted by the true-hearted so long as the promise holds good: "The righteous shall be held in everlasting remembrance."

In the year 1846 William Forster was introduced into a service which, whilst calculated to stimulate him to unremitting efforts, could not fail to affect most painfully a mind so keenly sensitive to human distress. During that year, the almost total failure of the potato crop, together with a deficiency in the crop of oats, involved a loss computed at eighty millions of dollars, and reduced millions of persons to the prospect of absolute starvation. The emergency was too dreadful to be at first fully realized, and the sufferings which ensued, not only transcend our skill in description, but were far beyond the conception of those, who, daily partaking in abundance of the bounties of Providence, desired to extend across the deep a helping hand to those who were ready to perish. Our beloved friend found it to be his duty to make a journey through the distressed districts, and having conferred with his Friends, and obtained their unity he left his home, a messenger of mercy, on the 30th of 11th month, and spent an unusually inclement winter, subjected to great privations, and amidst scenes of distress, loathsomeness and horror, not

to be contemplated, even after the lapse of years without a shudder. In this labor of love and of faith he was accompanied, by turns, by Joseph Crossfield, James H. Tuke, George Alexander, Wm. Dillwyn Sims, and other friends by whom from time to time reports were published, and we had marked for insertion various thrilling extracts, but we find that they would involve the occupation of more space than we can devote to the subject, and the minutiae of details would too painfully harrow the feelings of our readers. But if these scenes were too revolting to be lightly touched upon in a journal like this, let us contemplate the suffering they must have occasioned to our dear Friend, who, though his sensibilities were so exquisitely keen that his heart strings were continually and painfully vibrating, thus dwelt in the midst of these horrors, acting the part of the good Samaritan, whilst from the Heaven of Heavens, the adorable Being, who, when incarnate, "went about doing good," looked down upon His follower thus conformed unto His likeness, and recognized these noble deeds as *done unto Him*. Who is there that can reflect upon these passages in William Forster's personal history, without making the acknowledgement

"not like thine is crucified
The spirit of our human pride.
And at the bondsman's tale of woe,
And for the outcast and forsaken,
Not warm like thine, but cold and slow
Our weaker sympathies awaken."

From the "Transactions of the Central Relief Committee of the Society of Friends" we copy the following passage.

"The Committee observed that some of the earliest and most perplexing questions that presented themselves, were how to obtain trustworthy information as to the real state of the more remote districts, and through what agency to open suitable channels of relief. From this difficulty they were in part relieved, by finding that William Forster of Norwich, intended to come to this country, believing it to be his duty to undertake a journey through the most distressed districts, with the view of obtaining accurate information respecting the nature and amount of destitution, and of devising the best means of affording relief. The distressed condition of Ireland had attracted Wm. Forster's attention before he heard of the formation of our Committee, and he had conferred with his friends in London on the subject, who fully united in his views, and encouraged him to prosecute his proposed journey. He set out on the 30th of 11 mo. 1846, and was accompanied in different parts of this route by some friends from England and of this country, with whom he visited the Counties of Roscommon, Leitrim, Fermanagh, Donegal, Sligo, Mayo, Galway, Longford, and Cavan. Most of the counties were closely inspected, and special attention was paid to the wild and desolate parts of each. It was not until the 14th of 4th mo. '47, that he completed his engagement: which had been prolonged greatly beyond the expectations at first entertained by himself and his friends, and which he prosecuted in the depth of a very inclement winter, deprived of many of the comforts to which he was accustomed, and his feelings often painfully excited by witnessing so much misery beyond his power to relieve. His examination disclosed a state of destitution and suffering far exceeding that which had been at first supposed.

The Committee believe that his visit was very useful in many respects. He stimulated the upper classes in the endeavor to relieve the distress around them. He encouraged those with whom he had intercourse, by the in-

formation he was able to give respecting the exertions made in other parts of the country, and by shewing them that he himself sympathized with the difficulties of their position and with the sufferings of the poor. He also afforded most important help to our Committee, by opening a correspondence with individuals and local bodies in those remote districts, and thus furnished us with many efficient and trustworthy agents for the distribution of the funds confided to us, in places far removed from the residence of any members of our own religious profession. Previously to his leaving Dublin, he had been requested to undertake the immediate distribution of relief, by advances of money in all cases in the course of his journey in which there appeared to him a propriety in doing so. This discretion he from time to time exercised."

"The full value of his services," says the *Norfolk News*, "can scarcely be calculated. He hardly allowed himself sufficient time for rest and sleep; and no atmospheric influences, however inauspicious, were allowed to damp his ardour or relax his exertions. Younger and more robust men quailed before the amount of labor through which his unflagging zeal sustained him; but there was little doubt that he overtaxed his strength in the prosecution of his arduous though self-imposed task. He was strongly and peculiarly affected by the harrowing scenes which he was called to witness, and which far exceeded in horror any which his imagination had pictured; and with the combined effect of grief on his tender spirit, and excessive fatigue on his physical system, he returned to England, with a constitution much debilitated by the severity of the exercise through which he had passed. It may be interesting to our readers to know that the total amount of relief in money and food placed at the disposal of the Central Committee of the Society of Friends at Dublin, during the visitation of the famine, was nearly £200,000. The supplies sent from America were on a scale of unparalleled liberality."—*To be Continued.*

We can scarcely take up a periodical which has any pretension to respectability or moral tone without finding strong condemnation of the late iniquity of our National Legislature, in the passage of the Nebraska Bill. Yet how few of those who thus denounce it are themselves free from the guilt! The Missouri Compromise was in the first place, a weak and wicked surrender of the right, at a time when manliness and virtue might have secured the blessing which was then vilely thrown away. From that time the nominal friends of Freedom, who are "as much opposed to Slavery as you are, but"—have been gradually pursuing the downward course of compromise and demoralization. We cannot pause to dwell upon the evidences of this, which saddened and disgusted us from year to year. In 1850 a crisis had arrived when public sentiment demanded an advance in the direction of Freedom, and representatives were sent to Washington to carry out the popular will. The South perceived this, expected fully to be compelled to make large concessions, and were ready, after a flourish of trumpets, to do it peaceably. The time was auspicious. The safety

of the Union, so far from being at hazzard, was enhanced,—and a more tranquil feeling on the Slave Question,—alike at the South and at the North, was at hand. Had Henry Clay and Daniel Webster been both quietly at their homes; or, being at Washington, had they both been destitute of all hope of the Presidency, the tide of Slavery propagandism would have receded, and the infamous Fugitive Bill would never have disgraced our statute books, or even have been devised. But the South had been accustomed to gain her points by bullying the North. She verily believed that the time had come when she could do so no longer, but, it could cost little to try the experiment once more, and would only be indulging, (perhaps for the last time) in a favorite habit. So the fist of the South was fiercely yet tremulously shaken in the face of the North,—and the North—false to its convictions—traitor to its trusts—recrunt to virtue and humanity, shook in its shoes. The quick witted South took advantage of the first display of the white feather. They expected to be beaten, but they saw that they could strike a panic in the hosts of Freedom. They saw that by threatening the Union they could draw concessions from northern politicians, and they knew that if these dough faces, would, at the very moment when they might have made their own terms, *yield a little* “to save the Union,” they could, by calling louder, scare them into conceding more. So that inhuman, base and unconstitutional Bill was presented, its passage was demanded,—and the sons of the North who were sent to do battle for Liberty, gave themselves to infamy, and

“Covered down into *Slaves* when they might have stood MEN.”

The degrading history of the subsequent years is lamentably fresh in our memory, and does not modify the sentiment at which we had arrived, that the most truckling people of ancient or modern time, are now to be found in the non-slaveholding States of this Union. TRUCKLING TO THE SOUTH—is the comprehensive phrase, by which we might characterize a large part of our legislation. The words afford a neat compendium of our history.

At present there seems to be something like a virtuous indignation pervading the country. We would endeavour to place some reliance upon it, only that we are weary of being duped. Politicians, in this as in other matters, will be ready with promises to carry out the popular will. But when they meet the Southern phalanx face to face, like Whittier's Statesman in the “hunting of men,”—

“doubting and fear shall prevail,
And the head of the steed take the place of the tail.”

We have little heart, therefore, to chronicle the indignation meetings held in various sections, and sometimes addressed by Politicians, who, could Clay or Webster rise before them to warn them that “the Union is in danger” would leap

to their embrace, as NEY rushed from the head of his troops to the arms of Napoleon, when his old master called him “the bravest of the brave.”

Yet, amid the sickening evidences that a true answer to the query,—“Shall he find faith on the earth?” must be a negative one,—we can at least place a guard upon our own conscience and our own example, and take heed lest we too, by the corrupting influences of sordid interest, sell our testimony and our integrity together, and become implicated in the greatest crime on Earth. And whilst it is much to keep our own conscience clear, it is by no means necessary that the results of our abstinence from Slave produce should stop here. Let all who abhor Slavery refrain from *giving the motive*, refuse to accept the bribe that blinds the eye, and the motive of self-interest would no longer operate in the North to the extent that it now does, to stifle the testimony, to influence the vote, to stimulate to high treason against God and Humanity. It would be a modest, unblamable mode of attack upon Slavery, and carrying with it evidences of sincerity, it would preach wordless, but convicting sermons, it would spread like a holy contagion among the honest hearted,

“And from yonder sunny vallies,
Southward in the distance lost,
Freedom yet should summon allies
Worthier than the North can boast.

With the evil by their hearth-stones grappling at severer cost.”

SUGGESTED PRIZE ESSAY.—The Leeds (Eng.) Anti-Slavery Association proposes to raise a Fund and to offer a prize of 200 guineas for the best, and 100 guineas for the second best essay “on the Sinfulness of Slavery; the best mode of terminating it; and the benefits that would result therefrom.”

Strong reasons for this movement are presented, prominent among which is placed the awakening of dormant energies, (as in the case of Clarkson), in the minds of those who compete for the prize. Immediate contributions are invited, and the following are the persons in America who are appointed to receive such subscriptions. George W. Taylor, *Cor. 5th and Cherry Sts., Philada.*—Samuel J. May, *Boston*, James McCune Smith, *M. D., New York*,—Frederick Douglas, *Rochester*.

FREE LABOUR WAREHOUSE,
N. W. CORNER OF 5th AND CHERRY STS.
PHILADELPHIA.

THE Proprietor of this Establishment would call the attention of the friends and consumers of Free Labour Produce to the prospect of having a manufactory for making a variety of Staple Cotton and mixture of Cotton and Woollen fabrics in operation early next autumn, which it is believed will remove the main difficulties, which have been experienced in maintaining a supply of such goods. He has also a confidence in securing better arrangements for regular supplies of such goods as he shall prefer getting made in England. He is now expecting daily additional stock for the autumn demand.*

GEORGE W. TAYLOR.

*A part of this supply has this day arrived.

THE NON-SLAVEHOLDER.

"Whoso gives the motive, makes his brother's sin his own."

VOL. II.—NEW SERIES.]

PHILADELPHIA, EIGHTH MONTH, 1854.

[No. 8.]

WILLIAM J. ALLINSON, EDITOR.

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JUAN PLACIDO—THE CUBAN POET.

(Continued from page 58.)

Soon after our arrival, I saw the mayoral coming towards the house; I escaped through the garden, and hid myself: in the afternoon I went to town, to the Count of G., who gave me shelter and protection; I was still uneasy, I wept bitterly when I remembered the kindness I was treated with by the other masters in Havana. Scarcely was I there five days, when, for a trifling fault, they sent for a commissary of police, who secured me with a rope, and took me to the public prison in the middle of the day; at four o'clock, there came a white man from the country, who demanded me, and I was delivered to him; he put on me the coarse linen dress, he tied my arms with a rope, and led me towards the Molino, which I desired never to see again, after having been so well treated by my former masters, being now also somewhat elated with the praises bestowed on my abilities, and a little proud of my acquaintance in the city with persons that knew how to reward services. At the Molino, Don Saturnino Carrias, the mayoral at this time, examined me, I told the truth, and he sent me to work at the fields without any chastisement or fetters. I was there about nine days when my mistress coming to the Molino to breakfast, sent for me, gave me a fine suit of clothes, and took me to town again in the volante. I was known at this time under the name of the Chinito, or the little Mulatto of the Marquesa.

About this time I went to the house of a lady of Senor Apodaca, a grandee of Havanna, where they were making some preparations for his reception. Senor Aparitio, a painter and decorator, was employed in painting some emblems allusive to a rose, as the name of the lady was Rosa: I helped the painter, and he gave me ten dollars for my work, and having by way of amusement painted some garlands, he saw that I might be useful to him, and asked my mistress to lend me to him, but she would not consent; at the conclusion of his work he gave me two dollars more, which money I kept with the intention to spend it at Havana. My mistress found out that the servants met together in a barn after midnight, to play at cards till the morning. The first thing she did on the following morning was to search my pockets, and finding that I had more money than she gave me, took me for an accomplice in their game; and notwithstanding my telling her how I came in possession of the money, she kept it, and sent me to the Molino, where I was received by the mayoral, and treated kindly, the same as before; at the end of three or four days my mistress sent for me, and I returned to town.

Some time past on without any novelty, when my mother died suddenly. I was made acquainted with this accident soon afterwards, when my mistress gave me three dollars to have prayers said for her. A few days after she gave me leave to go to the Molino, to see what my mother had left. The mayoral gave me the key of the house, where I only found a very large old box empty: as there was a secret in it, which I knew, I pulled the spring, and found there some trinkets of pure gold, but the most worthy were three ancient bracelets, near two inches broad and very thick, two strings of beads, one of gold, the other coral and gold: I found also a bundle of papers, in which were some accounts of debts due to us, one of 200 and odd dollars, another of 400, payable by my mistress, and some others for small sums. When I was born, my grandfather gave me a young mare, of a fine breed: she gave five colts, which my father purposed should be given to my brothers; after that she gave three more, making altogether eight colts. I returned to my mistress, and gave an account of what I found. At the end of five or six days, I asked her if she had examined the bills: she

answered calmly, "not yet;" and I went to inform the Creole, Rosa Brindiz, who had the care of my sister, Maria del Rosario. Rosa was continually urging me not to lose any opportunity of asking my mistress about it, as she wanted my sister's share, to repay herself the expenses of nursing and keeping her, and as I was the eldest, it was my duty, she said, to look after the money. Teased by her, I ventured to mention it again to my mistress; but what was my astonishment, when instead of money, she said, "You are in a great hurry for your inheritance, do you not know that I am the lawful heir of my slaves? if you speak to me again about it, I will send you where you will never see the sun nor the moon again; go and clean the furniture." The following day I made Rosa acquainted with this answer, and some days after she came herself to speak to my mistress, with whom she was a long time; when she came out I gave her two of the three bracelets, and all of the beads. My mistress, who was always watching me, came near us, and intimated to Rosa, that she disliked her to have any communication with me, or any of the servants, and Rosa went away, and never came there any more.

As for me, from the moment that I lost my hopes, I ceased to be a faithful slave; from an humble, submissive being, I turned the most discontented of mankind: I wished to have wings to fly from that place, and to go to Havana; and from that day my only thoughts were in planning how to escape and run away. Some days after I sold to a silver-smith the other bracelet, and for which he gave me seven dollars, and some reals, I gave the dollars to a priest, for prayers to be said for my poor mother. It was not long before my mistress knew of it, through the priest; she asked me where I had the money from, I told her, she wanted to know the name of the silver-smith, I said I did not know; she flew into a passion, "You will know then for what you are born, you cannot dispose of any thing without my consent." She then sent me to the Molino for the third time. Don Saturnino, the mayoral, inquired what I had done, I told him, very peevishly, and weeping, for I did not care for the consequences at that moment, but he pitied me, untied my arms, and sent me to his kitchen, with orders not to stir from there. At the end of ten days, he said to me, "As your mistress is coming to-morrow to breakfast here, to save appearances, I will put on you the fetters, and send you to work; but if she inquires whether you have been whipped, you must say, yes." Next morning, about nine, she sent for me, gave me a new suit of clothes; and when I went to him to deliver the coarse ones, with an angry tone, he said to me, "Now, mind what you are about; in less than two months you have been sent to me three times, and I have treated you kindly, endeavor to do your best not to come here again, if you do, you

shall be treated severely; go to your mistress, go, and beware."—*To be Continued.*

For the Non-Slaveholder.

WHO IS THE SLAVEHOLDER?

Suppose the readers of the Non-slaveholder should form a stock company and raise sufficient capital to purchase a plantation at the South and stock it with Slaves, and also to erect a manufactory at the North, and establish a Store at New York or Philadelphia. They employ A. to superintend the plantation and raise the cotton, B. to take charge of the manufactory, and C. the Store, the stockholders go to the Store for their supplies, and purchase and use all the goods.

After a time suppose A. B. and C, buy out the stockholders and continue to superintend and carry on the business as heretofore, and the stockholders continue to purchase and use all the goods.

We will suppose again that after some years, A. B. and C dissolve partnership, and divide the property. A. takes the plantation and Slaves, B the manufactory, and C. the Store, and conduct the business exactly as before, and the purchasers and consumers of the goods are the same.

Although there have been changes of ownership in the above supposed cases, the condition of the Slave remains the same. I will therefore enquire—Does the commercial change remove the sin of slaveholding from one party and place it on another? Are the original stockholders and consumers less responsible for the continuance of Slavery in the last case than the first.

While non-slaveholders continue to buy and use all the products of slave labor, can we expect Slavery to cease? Who, then is the Slaveholder? W.

FREE LABOR IN TEXAS.

A correspondent of the *New York Tribune*, writing from Texas, gives a most interesting account of the settlement and operations of the Germans in that State. After stating their general repugnance to slavery, he says:—"In connexion with this subject, it should be mentioned that the inhabitants of New Braunfels have begun to raise cotton by their own personal labor. The trial, as may be expected, has first been made on a very small scale. After the first success in respect to climate and soil, which has been perfect, they have formed an association for that branch of agriculture, and this year they have produced 800 bales. The German settlers of other places have done the same, with the most satisfactory results. . . . If this movement continues, you will soon see, in this country, quite a number of small German farming communities raising southern staple produce by association."

Now this is very important indeed, and well worthy of the consideration of the friends of the Free Labour movement. Who cannot see what

would be the result, if a large number of these communities should plant themselves in Texas, or in any other slave State? Each would be a leavening centre and substance of freedom, besides the amount of free-labor products they would add to the stock now in market. Those Germans will soon come to vote, and their influence will be felt at the ballot-box in favor of freedom. If they can live and labor in Texas, they can do the same in Georgia or South Carolina.—*Bond of Brotherhood.*

THE NON-SLAVEHOLDER.

PHILADELPHIA, EIGHTH MONTH, 19, 1854.

WILLIAM FORSTER.*

Early in the 8th month 1844, William Forster sailed for France, on a religious mission to the cities and towns of Normandy, Brittany, and some of the more northerly parts of France and Belgium, first visiting the Channel Islands. In this service he was accompanied by Edmund Richards of Guernsey, and Henry Tuke.

His labors were most diligent, and, as we reverently believe, blessed to many souls. On the reading, in London Yearly Meeting, in 1845, of a minute of the Meeting for sufferings which brought this work of faith and labor of love into notice, Edmund Richards gave a succinct description thereof, respecting which the London FRIEND preserves the following record.

"He travelled much in parts remote from the great roads, amongst villages, in forests and fastnesses, whither the people, whose descendants still profess the reformed religion, fled in former times for shelter from the persecution of their Catholic neighbors. In some of these the life is not extinct, the seed still germinates and strives to burst through the incumbent mass of superstition. The profession, however, appears in many places to be a dead profession, nevertheless the door is open for the Christian laborer, and our Friends found themselves led in a remarkable manner, along the open way. Besides service of a purely religious nature, when in the towns they went from house to house, amongst the civic authorities, endeavoring to engage their minds on behalf of the abolition of slavery. These opportunities, in which they were always received with much urbanity, led sometimes to discourse upon our religious principles, and that again to communications in the line of the ministry. This visit is one of great importance, and of the deepest interest. That there exists in the secluded parts of France, a number of seeking persons, ready to welcome true spiritual religion, is a very encouraging circumstance; nor must we overlook the ground which has been gained on the subject of slavery."

At London Yearly Meeting of 1845, (just referred to,) a deep feeling was entertained relating to a difference which existed among Friends in Indiana, respecting the proper mode of action in reference to slavery, which had resulted in a secession, and the establishment of an organization by the name of "*Anti-Slavery Friends*." A weight of religious exercise pervaded the meeting, which led to the adoption of an expostulatory address to the seceding individuals, and it was believed to be right "that it should be entrusted to a deputation from the Yearly Meeting,

who should attend the next Yearly Meeting of Indiana, and afterwards proceed in disposing of the address, as in the wisdom of Truth should seem best." Our departed friend and several others signified to the committee upon the subject their willingness to yield themselves to this arduous service, and the London Friend thus records their appointment:

"The meeting was brought into tender sympathy with the dear Friends who have offered themselves to become peace-makers in the body, and the Church laid her hands upon them, under the persuasion that it was the will of the Lord that they should be separated for this service; we believe we may add that the contriving, cementing influence of His presence and love was experienced, to the admiration of the meeting."

William Forster having retained possession of the certificate granted to him for religious service on the continent, and being still impressed with a sense of duty to return thither, crossed the channel to Calais, 6 mo. 21st, 1845,—again accompanied by his friend Edmund Richards, and was joined in a few days by Edward Backhouse, Jr. He accomplished his visit to the cities of the northern departments of France, holding many meetings, making religious family visits, visiting prisons, and various establishments both Papal and Protestant, being courteously received by the authorities and by influential individuals, although at Maubert Fontain, the gendarmes made an unsuccessful attempt to prevent the distribution of Scripture books. In this tour, our Friends circulated a large number of treatises on the unlawfulness of war, anti-slavery pamphlets, Friends' Tracts, and selections from the holy Scriptures. Among the persons of note who gave them a cordial reception were the Archbishops of Rheims and of Cambray, who showed great interest in the anti-slavery question, and most politely received books and tracts illustrative of the religious views of Friends. The former expressed his desire for the total abolition of the Slave Trade and Slavery, and declared himself a man of peace, quoting the Psalmist's words: "Scatter thou the people who delight in war."

They returned to England on the 31st of seventh month, and on the 23d of 8th month, William Forster embarked at Liverpool in the steamer *Great Western*, to bear the olive-branch across the mighty deep. His associates in this important mission to Indiana were our beloved and honored friends, Josiah Forster, George Stacey, and John Allen, of Liskeard.

The members of this christian embassy attended Indiana Yearly meeting, which convened on the 30th of the 9th month, where they were received with cordial sympathy and unity, a committee being appointed to give them any required information or assistance. They however proceeded alone to their work, in an inclement season of the year, visiting the objects of their solicitude in their settlements, in various parts of Indiana, Ohio, Illinois, and Iowa, convening the families in places where they came,

* Continued from page 63,

and reading to them the Yearly Meeting Epistle, and adding such remarks as appeared at the time to be suitable. They visited many at their own houses, leaving copies of the Epistle with the heads of the families, but confining the circulation entirely to those to whom it was addressed. Amidst many hardships they were sustained by a holy confidence in the arm which led them forth, *knowing this, that their labor was not in vain in the Lord.* Following with a single eye their Divine Guide, turning not aside at the invitation or suggestion of any, they pursued their single object of christian charity in a manner so exemplary that they have left a safe and salutary example to any who may hereafter be engaged in similar mediatorial missions. Their christian circumspection throughout this engagement, and subsequently in reference to it, plainly evinced that they had sought availingly the wisdom which cometh from above. They were abundantly convinced that the course pursued was the only one which could in wisdom have been adopted, and they returned to their native land "with a renewed and deepened persuasion of the evils of division, and of the blessed effects of that unity in which our religious Society has so largely participated." Their labors of love, and the beautiful fruits thereof, will not be forgotten.

A minute of Indiana Yearly Meeting, expressive of Christian regard, sympathy and unity, with these dear friends, also certifies that the Gospel ministry, among them, of William Forster had been sound and edifying.

In the eighth month 1846, we find him engaged in a religious tour in Scotland.

In this and the following year William Forster performed the arduous and painful services in Ireland, of which we have already given a brief and inadequate account.

In 1849 the Yearly Meeting of London was deeply impressed with a religious concern (originating we believe in the mind of W. Forster,) to address upon the subject of Slavery the rulers and people of the nations professing Christianity. This remarkable and memorable document, drafted by our dear friend, was adopted by the Yearly Meeting, "the reading of it being accompanied with feelings of lively sympathy and of christian love towards all mankind." When the question arose as to the means which should be taken to present and circulate the Address, William Forster with much feeling offered himself as the Society's messenger in Europe, which offer received the cordial unity of Friends and was accepted with thankfulness. On the 19th of 7th month he left London upon this important undertaking, accompanied by our valued friends Josiah Forster and Peter Bedford. At different times, and accompanied by different Friends, he proceeded to deliver the address to nearly all the Sovereigns and governments of Europe, it being translated into the continental languages, and

widely circulated among those in authority. How diligently he laboured,—with what earnest and persuasive eloquence he pleaded with the mighty ones of Earth on behalf of the down-trodden slave,—with what favor he was received,—and how remarkably his way was made for him, could be far better related by some of those faithful disciples who were his partners in the work, and who will, we trust, make contributions towards his fitting biography.

In the Spring of 1850 a rather unusual concern rested upon his mind,—which was, to hold meetings in the love of the Gospel with the various persons connected with the London Theatres of all descriptions. Although this engagement was a trial of faith, *in prospect*, both to William Forster and to his friends, yet it was satisfactorily accomplished, and the meetings were well attended, and were held in the power and to the honor of Truth.

About the close of the year 1851, we find W. Forster engaged in a religious visit to the meetings composing the general meeting of Dorset and Hants, and those of the Monthly Meetings of Somerset; and in the 7th month of the ensuing year he obtained the sanction of his Monthly Meeting to visit in the love of the Gospel the descendants of the Vaudois, in the valleys and on the mountains of Piedmont. In this journey he was accompanied by his valued and faithful friend William Holmes of Alton. The service was a toilsome one, our friend sometimes riding on mules, at other times walking for miles over the rugged mountains, that he might see the simple peasants in their humble cottage homes, when the plain but clear and powerful gospel message, delivered in the earnestness of Truth, often brought tears of tenderness and contrition to his deeply interested and attentive auditory.

"Like Paul he went from house to house,
And boldly preached the Word—
And many souls accepting it
Were added to the Lord.
While from his lips and from his heart
As onward he would pass,
Fell gentle benedictions
As showers upon the grass."

Of this journey the following interesting passages have been kindly contributed by our esteemed friend who accompanied him.

"Our late dear friend William Forster left England on the 1st of the 10th Month, 1852, proceeded by way of Paris, Sens, Lyons, Geneva, and Turin, towards the valleys of Piedmont, where the Waldenses are located. At Sens, and Lyons, Wm. Forster sought out persons connected with the small Protestant congregations, and held a religious meeting with small companies of serious persons in each of these places. At Geneva he called on many serious persons, and an opportunity was afforded for an interview with the students of the Evangelical College, most of whom were intended for the ministry: our dear friend was much interested on behalf

of these young men, and addressed them in a very impressive manner on the importance of living up to the principles which they professed.

"At Lyons, Wm. Forster and his companion were joined by a Friend from the South of France, who acted as an interpreter. On the 20th of 10th month the little party left Geneva and proceeded by the pass of Mount Cervis into Italy. It was a long and painful journey, but our dear Friend bore with it with much composure, although greatly tried for want of sufficient accommodation in the public conveyance in which they travelled. W. F. had provided many books for distribution which were taken possession of on our entering the dominions of the King of Sardinia, with an understanding that they would be sent to Turin; he had some difficulty in regaining them, and only by undertaking that they should not be distributed to Catholics, which proved rather a source of trial to him, his benevolent intention regarding them being in degree frustrated. After a stay of about a week at Turin, which time was much occupied in obtaining information respecting the Vallies, we proceeded to La Tour, the principal Town in the Vaudois Parishes; it contains about 3000 inhabitants, one half of whom are Protestants: here the little party engaged rooms at the Hotel. A few days were occupied in making the acquaintance of the Moderator and the Professor of the College, and in obtaining information as to the best mode of proceeding with the concern of our dear friend who was received with much openness, and on the 1st day, the 31st of 10th Month he had his first meeting among this interesting people; the use of a school-room in La Tour was kindly allowed, and was well filled: the Moderator acted as Interpreter; he performed his office faithfully, though on some points views were set forth differing from his own.—The season having pretty far advanced, it was thought best to proceed towards the most distant parishes, which are in the Valley of St. Martin. One of the Professors of the College accompanied us to Pignerol to negotiate with a person for the printing of some little books in Italian. "The Lock and Key," "Life of John the Baptist," extracted from Scripture, and a Text Book; of each of these W. F. had a large addition struck off in the hope of getting them into circulation where he felt restricted from giving those books which he had a difficulty in passing at Turin.

"There were a few of the Vaudois living in and around Pignerol with whom a meeting was obtained; they assembled to the number of about 30 in our apartment at the Hotel, which was kept by one of their members. From this place we proceeded to Perosa, and soon called on the Pastor of Pomaret, who was very kind and well disposed to assist our dear Friend in the object of his visit. The next parish was distant about 4 or 5 miles; having hired a mule and mountain cart to take our baggage, we set out on foot, and

reached the house of the Pastor at Clos, where we took a little refreshment and then ascended the mountain side to the parish school, where we met an interesting company of persons, and our dear Friend was enabled to deliver his Gospel message to the comfort of some present—it was a solid meeting.

"The approach to this meeting house was very difficult and extremely toilsome. W. F.'s nervous fear of a precipice was so great as to render the exertion extreme, the peasants looked on with astonishment, repeatedly telling him, there was no danger, the mountain path being to them no more than the side walk to us. Our dear Friend's mind felt drawn to have a meeting on the next first day at a meeting house, high up on the opposite mountain, which our kind friends did not seem to encourage; we learned afterwards that W. F.'s state of timidity made them fearful—he however seemed decided, and here commenced the custom which was invariably adopted afterwards, his companions going before to survey the road, and to judge of the possibility of W. F.'s accomplishing it. Our opinion was that he could get to this spot, and we fixed for a meeting at 3 o'clock.

"The place was reached, but only by extreme exertion. It was truly instructive to see how our dear Friend toiled to fulfil the requirements of his Divine Master.

"When we arrived, almost bathed in perspiration, we found the room was extremely damp, with a mud floor, and no glass in the windows, yet hot and fatigued as we were, we were preserved from taking cold. The meeting was attended by about 100 persons to whom the Gospel message was delivered. There are four Parishes further up the valley of St. Martin, about which W. F.'s mind became much exercised; it was a trial to him to give them up, but from information obtained, it did not appear safe to attempt them, the way being extremely precipitous, almost amounting to dangerous; we therefore retraced our steps our steps to Pomaret, and fixed to have a meeting there at 3 o'clock on 3d day the 9th of the 11th mo., which was pretty well attended, and proved a good meeting. The pastor of this parish was from home, and did not return till next day, when we called upon him and had a family sitting to much satisfaction. Our dear friend had similar service in nearly all the families of the Pastors which we were in, and many of these opportunities were tendering seasons. On leaving Pomaret we bent our way to St. Germain, where we met a large congregation of nearly 300 on the evening of the 11th, many serious persons were present, and our dear friend in an impressive manner invited them to a life of devotedness to Christ.

"At this place we were at the foot of the mountain where is the parish of Promolles, very high up, said to be the highest settlement of the Van-

dois. We explored the road, and though long and difficult, concluded to encourage our dear friend to make the attempt to reach it, and therefore fixed with the dear old Pastor for a meeting the next evening at seven. We set out for Promolles in the morning, and after a toilsome ascent of $2\frac{3}{4}$ hours, our dear friend reached the village much fatigued, but he was most kindly cared for by our host and hostess, and after some refreshment and rest was quite equal to the meeting, which was well attended. Before leaving this interesting elderly couple, he had a very touching family opportunity with them and their interesting son, and we parted from them in much tenderness of feeling, proceeding thence on the 7th day morning to Pignerole, and on to La Tour in the evening. This little town was principally our head quarters during the remainder of our stay, going out occasionally for a night or two to visit the various parishes around. By the time we had been nearly six weeks in the vallies, visits to those parishes considered accessible had been paid. He had held meetings with the inhabitants of 11 out of the 15 parishes, yet the work assigned him did not seem wholly accomplished without attempting family visits to some of the most influential of the residents in La Tour and neighborhood. Much to his relief, there was great openness manifested to receive him, and very many sittings we had with such as his mind appeared drawn to; it was remarkable to see how the way opened for this service; in almost all instances we could not have experienced greater facilities for the service, had we been amongst the members of our own society.

"These visits closed this part of his engagement, but our dear friend did not leave without taking an opportunity which presented to meet a number of the Pastors of different Parishes, to express the interest he felt in the welfare of this people; he had much open conversation with them on the subject of education, and manifested great feeling in regard to their poor, contributing towards the relief of some who were expected to suffer during the approaching winter. He felt much for the orphan children, and used considerable exertion to interest the Pastors in the establishment of a home for the destitute of this description, and through his representations a sum was raised in London for this object, and it is gratifying to know that an establishment now exists for this interesting class.

"We have reason to believe that our dear friend left a savor behind him, which will not soon be lost; his labors amongst this people were on the broad principles of Christianity. He appeared concerned to impress upon them the great importance of experimental religion. It will not do, he said, to depend on what our fathers were, and how much they suffered for the truth; we are called upon to show to those by whom we are surrounded, that Christ does real-

ly reign in *our* hearts, and that we are guided by His Spirit.

"He took much interest in a normal class attached to the College; some of these were very poor youths under training for teachers, he invited them to take a meal at the Hotel; and after this extension of hospitality, he counselled them, and encouraged them in their praiseworthy efforts to obtain an education, and very kindly aided the poorest by a gift of clothing. They are obliged to live hard; their parents are able to afford them *very* little help. The Vaudois have two hospitals for the sick, these also claimed a share of our friend's interest and watchful care; he extended the word of caution or encouragement as he passed through them.

"Impressed with the importance of furnishing the young people with suitable reading, much of his time towards the close of the visit, was occupied in selecting and making up packets of books for each of the District Schools, and some to add to their Parish Libraries.

"Our dear friend left the Vallies on 4th day the 15th of 12th mo: and proceeded to Turin, where he made some stay, and returned home by Genoa and the south of France, arriving in England about the middle of the 2d month."

(To be Continued.)

FRUIT OF THE SYSTEM.—SLAVE PIRACY CASE.—A large demand existing for the produce of Slave labor, men of principle according to their interest of course are induced to obtain slaves. Some breed them from their own loins, and among this number rank sundry Statesmen of renown—others purchase their neighbors' children, some kidnap the free citizens of Pennsylvania, Ohio, or other States, but Captain Donald, late of the Ship Grey Eagle, furling his sails and made direct for Africa, constructed a Slave deck on his outward passage, and at an African Port called Cajuda, took on board (for the accommodation of the consumers of slave grown Sugar, Cotton, &c.) 604 negroes, 250 of whom were women. Fifteen of these died on the voyage and a number of recruits were born on board. Under the protection of a bribed police they were landed on Terra Firma, (for the benefit of some of our readers,) and the crew, after having been concealed awhile in a sugar loft, were each paid \$450—besides their regular wages. Captain Donald has since been subjected to a pretty severe trial of his faith and patience by some of the individuals who were zealous promoters of *other modes* of obtaining slaves, and (what makes his case still harder) by some of the class (i.e. slave produce consumers) whose convenience he hazarded his life and soiled his soul to advance. He has been committed, to take his trial in tenth month next. His offence is a capital one by the laws of the same body which enacted the Fugitive Bill. Consumers of Slave Produce,—lend your sympathy to a martyr in

your cause! Did he brave the perils of the sea and the burning sun of Africa? It was for you he did it. Did he chattelize 604 of God's children? It was for you. Did he sneak into ambush to escape detection? He did it as your representative. Did he quail before Marshals and Deputy Marshals, whose mode of catching slaves is so dissimilar? It was all for your sakes.—Will he be suspended from the gallows, as the law directs? He will hang there as your substitute, and you will read the account of his execution, with his last speech and dying confession, eased perhaps from head to foot in the conveniences which he has cheapened for you, and as you stir the sugar in your coffee, you will comment upon the laudable activity of Marshal Wynkoop and others, who exposed and brought to punishment an *uncommissioned* sinner, who in such a wholesale manner attempted to compete with them in the business of catching negroes.

DON'T VOTE RECKLESSLY.—The time is at hand when millions of professed republicans will give their votes for men to carry on in their name the machinery of government. But there will be a few preliminaries. First, in the various localities, a few dictators of the respective parties meet in caucus and agree upon a plan by which their private wishes may obtain a popular air and seem to be the will of the party. Then a public primary meeting is held, *in a tavern*, and a ticket is formed of persons who, it is thought, will *run well*. Run well with whom? With the quiet, orderly exemplary citizens who rarely attend these meetings? No indeed. The votes of these men are regarded as *secur*o,—it will be easy to convince them that *our ticket* is not so bad as that of the other party, and that it is their duty to "choose the least of two evils." The ticket must be made up with men who will *run well* among the border savages who may be bought over to either party by personal influences, by hopes of patronage, or by rum. The ticket being thus formed of men unfit to wield the responsibilities of office,—as a general rule, the best men of the respective parties vote the tickets *solid*, and the worst men select from each ticket the men most like themselves, and the latter turn the scale.

When the election is over and the successful candidates enter upon their duties, or, rather, upon their *avocations*, their consideration is, not—*How shall we best promote the public interests?*—but,—*How shall we best promote the success of our party, and our own re-election next year?* And thus the perpetual aim is, to please and to cater to the class of citizens whose moral sense is the least developed.

At the coming election, the Temperance idea ought to be prominent with all patriots. It is essential to the public weal to have legislators favorable to Prohibitory Law,—Judges and Magistrates who have sense and principle enough

to carry it out. Sheriffs, Constables, and other subordinate officers, ought to be right upon this subject, both in theory and in practice. The man who votes for candidates who will help to perpetuate the Rum Traffic, has no right to expect his son or his son-in-law to be a sober man, and he will pray with less unction to his Father in Heaven, for the reformation of drunkards.

LITERARY NOTICES.

MEMOIRS OF JOSEPH JOHN GURNEY, WITH SELECTONS FROM HIS JOURNAL AND CORRESPONDENCE. EDITED BY JOSEPH BEVAN BRAITHWAITE. Philadelphia, Lippincott, Grambo and Co., 2 vols.

"The memory of the just is blessed." These were the first words we ever heard from the lips of that truly great and good man, and they often recur to us when his idea is presented. His was a most extraordinary character. A man of high worldly connections with all the circumstances at hand that could give access to the fleeting glories of time and the allurements of earthly ambition, he meekly and righteously renounced the pomps and vanities of a wicked world, and chose the good part which could not be taken from him. Endowed by his Creator with high intellectual powers, he dedicated them unreservedly, to the service of his Lord. A man of high learning, and, as Lord Morpeth said of him, "authority upon any subject," he continued to the last a learner in the School of Christ: not considering himself to have apprehended, but pressing forward toward the mark, counting all things but loss for the excellency of the knowledge of Christ Jesus our Lord. A man of large wealth—he trusted not in his riches—but as a good steward of the manifold gifts of God, the cause which he knew not, he searched out, he was a friend to the friendless, a father to the orphan—he made the heart of many a widow leap for joy. Honoring the Lord with his substance, and abundantly faithful in the "unrighteous mammon," he whose hand is full of blessings and who giveth gifts unto men, entrusted to him the true riches, and eminently commissioned him, as a minister of Christ, to testify the gospel of the grace of God.

Like Daniel of old, he was a "man greatly beloved," and in a large measure of the spirit of one greater than Daniel, he "went about doing good." He abounded in good works—yet, after he had done all, in the depth of humility he made the just acknowledgment that he was an unprofitable servant,—for although, like the apostle, he could do all things through Christ strengthening him, yet he knew that he had no power of his own, that all merit resides in the Saviour, to whom he ascribed all the glory of his own works, and at whose feet he laid every crown,—saying

"Take the kingdom, it is thine.
King of Kings, and Lord of Lords!"

Rarely, if ever, have we known of one whose faith was more complete, or who was more "free from the tendency of narrow minds to hold the truth in parts." It is not surprising that some with less enlightened views, whilst *he* was endeavoring to stand fast in the liberty wherewith Christ had made him free, should unjustly charge him with being an inconsistent member of a Church, which, while it is peculiarly restricted by the limitations of Truth, affords ample scope for the full development of the christian-character, and for the exercise of all those gifts which God bestows upon chosen instruments for purposes of His own glory. The spirit of Quakerism is not sectarian; sectarianism is a direct violation of it. There are sectaries however, on the list of its members, (such as, in every church organization, pervert the right way of the Lord) and some of these shot at him and sorely grieved him—but his bow abode in strength, and the arms of his hands were made strong by the hands of the Mighty God of Jacob. And thus were developed the most beautiful perfections of his character. Not rendering railing for railing, but contrariwise blessing, he maintained unfaltering love to those who by illogical and false criticisms of his voluminous and invaluable writings, sought to father upon him doctrinal views which he did not hold, and to deny his belief in the doctrines which were dear to his heart, and which he set forth and advocated with remarkable clearness in the demonstration of the spirit and with power. Joseph John Gurney was a sound Quaker from thorough conviction, and is recognized as such by the great body of the Society of Friends. From none of the fifteen propositions of Barclay (which comprise the whole code of our Society's belief) did he dissent, and the leading points of Quakerism he has expounded and demonstrated so ably, that a debt of gratitude is due to his Master and Inspirer for the service thus rendered to his people.

But whilst he was truly a Quaker, he was in the fullest sense, an enlightened member of the universal Church, and extended the right hand of fellowship to christians, of every denomination, who loved the Lord Jesus in sincerity.

The biography of this extraordinary man is on our table, and it is before the world. We purposely abstain at the present time from analyzing its pages—but we heartily commend it to the perusal of all our readers.

The text on the title page is one which Joseph John Gurney had himself selected as a motto for some of the earlier volumes of his Journal. Of its peculiar applicability no one can doubt, who had the privilege of his intimate acquaintance.

"Herein do I exercise myself, to have always a conscience void of offence toward God and toward men." Acts xxiv. 16.

BURRITT'S BOND OF BROTHERHOOD.

We have often marked passages which we desired to extract from this excellent Monthly, but they have generally been crowded out. It is a periodical which we would like everybody to subscribe for and peruse, who can appreciate those things which are pure, lovely, and of good report. It is permeated with a heavenly spirit. It is dedicated to the Brotherhood of Man and the Fatherhood of God. THE BOND OF BROTHERHOOD! How suggestive is the name of ideas which we ought to take to our hearts and cherish there! In the highest and true sense, this BOND is the Peace secured by the "unity of the Spirit," among those who, are "joined unto the Lord," and who because "the love of the Father" is in them, love, with pure hearts, fervently, their brother also. "I know," said the Apostle, "that I have passed from death unto life, *because I love the brethren.*" And when we see among religionists, schisms, divisions, jealousies, shyness, party spirit,—whatever may be the alledged pretexts or points of difference, we feel assured that the *bond of brotherhood* is wanting—that there is a melancholy and a culpable deficiency in love to the Father and love to the brethren. Let all who find themselves deficient in this true and essential charity, although they may give their goods to feed the poor—though they may be sound in theological faith—though they may have a redundancy of zeal which would "give the body to be burned"—betake themselves to prayer—they are yet in their sins—they have not passed from death unto life.

For the Non-Slaveholder.

"WHOSO GIVES THE MOTIVE, MAKES HIS BROTHER'S SIN HIS OWN."*

I wear an easy garment,
O'er it no toiling Slave
Wept tears of hopeless anguish,
On his passage to the grave.

And from its ample folds
Shall rise no cry to God,
Upon its warp and woof shall be
No stain of tears and blood.

Oh, lightly shall it press my form,
Unladen with a sigh,
I shall not 'mid its rustling hear,
Some sad despairing cry.

This fabric is too light to bear
The weight of bondsmen's tears,
I shall not on its texture trace
The agony of years.

Too light to bear a smother'd sigh,
From some lorn woman's heart,
Whose only wreath of household love
Is rudely torn apart.

Then lightly shall it press my form,
Unburden'd by a sigh;
And from its seams and folds shall rise,
No voice to pierce the sky,

And witness at the throne of God,
In language deep and strong,
That I have nerv'd Oppression's hand,
For deeds of guilt and wrong.

FRANCIS ELLEN WATKINS.

*These lines were written for us, almost impromptu, by a poetess of African descent.—Ed.

THE NON-SLAVEHOLDER.

"Whoso gives the motive, makes his brother's sin his own."

VOL. II.—NEW SERIES.]

PHILADELPHIA, NINTH MONTH, 1854.

[No. 9.]

WILLIAM J. ALLINSON, EDITOR.

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FIFTH ANNUAL REPORT

*Of the Board of Managers of the Free Produce
Association of Friends of Ohio Yearly Meeting.*

It is not without feelings of encouragement,
that the labors of our Association have not been
in vain, that the Managers again bring forward
their annual report. The past year has been
marked by evidences of greater advancement,
among honest and serious minded persons, of
our testimony against the use of the products of
Slavery, than many which have preceded it.

Your Board has not been idle, but has, with
one exception, met monthly, as will be seen by
the minutes; and labored as way opened and
means were afforded, for the furtherance of cor-
rect views on the interesting objects for which
we are associated; and it is with peculiar satis-
faction we record, that from time to time, we
have been cheered by the appearance in the
field of new and earnest advocates of the cause
we have felt it our duty to espouse.

The Non-Slaveholder, which we in accordance
with the recommendation of the annual meeting
two years ago, aided in reviving, still labours in
our cause; and, although it is to be regretted
that its pages are not more exclusively devoted
to the objects of our Association,* yet it contains
many excellent and powerful articles on the sub-

* Whether this "is to be regretted" is decided quite
differently by other Judges. The N. S. has been quite as
much devoted to the important and sacred object of the
said Association, as its Editor ever intended, or ever
gave his subscribers reason to expect. His intention was
explicitly set forth in the first No. of each volume, and
upon no other terms would he even have taken into con-

ject, and we rejoice to say, has obtained a re-
spectable circulation. The Board subscribed for
40 copies, and directed them forwarded to per-
sons in different parts of the country, where we
thought they would be servicable to the cause.

We have also printed and circulated 5000
small tracts of a single leaf each, and a few
cards, and have now printed for distribution
15,000 pages of tracts, which had been previous-
ly stereotyped. We are also gratified to learn,
that our friends at Salem have re-printed and
circulated about 5000 of our leaves. It has also
been gratifying to notice, that Friends' Review,
the Oberlin Evangelist, and the Columbian, of
Columbus, Ohio, have each published some ex-
cellent articles in favor of abstinence from the
gain of oppression, and in support of a clean and
consistent testimony against Slavery. Through
the Oberlin Evangelist the arguments contained
on our published leaves have obtained a wide
circulation, and have been responded to by the
correspondents of that paper with approbation,
being characterized as *incontrovertible*: and a
determination expressed, "God being their help-
or, never to taste or wear any more of the sugar
or cotton, in the production of which Slaves
have wept, groaned, and been scourged." We
are cheered by the fact, that in the Oberlin Col-
legiate Institute this testimony has been em-
braced by most of the faculty and students, and
will thus be disseminated throughout the land,
by the most extensive, earnest, and powerful
agency. We have recently received through
that medium the gratifying intelligence, that a
meeting has just been held in the City of New
York—to consider the propriety of organizing a
National Free Produce Association.—Of the re-
sult of that meeting we are not yet informed.

Several English periodicals have also been
consideration the request that he should edit the Journal. In
every number the non-participant idea has been promi-
nently presented, and the variety which has been blended
has served to carry the principles of the Free Produce
Associations to the minds of many, who would not have
been readers of an exclusively one-idea paper. We are
glad of the laudable efforts of our Ohio Friends to increase
the circulation of the Non-Slaveholder,—simply because
in so doing they have promoted the cause of Philanthro-
py, (our pecuniary interests have been in no sense ad-
vanced thereby) and with a subscription list more than
three times as large as the N. Slaveholder ever before en-
joyed, we shall continue, during the short time we may
be willing to wield the editorial pen, to listen respectfully
to reasonable suggestions, whilst we must retain our pre-
rogative of an independent judgment.—Ed.

found advocating correct views on this subject, and our indefatigable advocate of Peace, Elihu Burritt, is giving it increased attention.

It is much encouragement to us, that we are not laboring alone, but that our sister Associations in Philadelphia and New York Yearly Meetings, and one within the limits of Indiana Yearly Meeting, are still actively engaged for the advancement of the same laudable object.

It is also a satisfaction to us, that Friends generally within our own Yearly Meeting, are feeling more and more interest in, and sympathy with this testimony; and throughout the very large Yearly Meeting of Indiana, embracing Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, and a great part of Ohio, a very large portion of Friends are becoming deeply interested, and would be glad of an opportunity to abstain from the sin-polluted commodities, which are the fruits of unrequited toil.

On the other hand it is a matter of deep regret, that so many Friends, especially in the more Eastern States, where they are more intimately connected with the system of Slavery by commerce and manufactures, are so blinded by interest and prejudice, that they are unable to see that their orders to the Southern States for Cotton, Sugar and Rice, are only so many stimulants to the cruel and remorseless task-master, to renewed energy in extorting from the sorrowing and helpless slave, writhing under the gory lash, to produce at the lowest possible rate, the articles necessary to fill those orders.

Notwithstanding the force of custom and the power of prejudice, we find but few sincere, honest hearted christians, willing to acknowledge, when the subject is fairly presented and pressed home to them, that there is a direct connexion between Slavery and the proceeds of Slave labor; that an active market for the productions of the system stimulates the producers, and hence those who purchase these productions are to a greater or less extent, accountable for the existence of Slavery, and responsible for all the barbarities inseparably connected with the system.

A difficulty has heretofore been found in procuring a suitable supply of Free Labor Goods. This difficulty will doubtless, in some measure continue, as the demand for such goods is rapidly increasing, particularly in the west—but it is with peculiar satisfaction that we recur to the fact that through the instrumentality of the friends of Free Labor in Philadelphia, funds have been obtained to enable G. W. Taylor to fit up a factory, to manufacture exclusively Free Labor goods; and that it is the intention to use the machinery a part of the time, in manufacturing the finer goods made of wool and cotton, which have heretofore not been in the market.

We rejoice too that the western Free Produce manufacturing company at Cincinnati, have also machinery in operation producing the heavier articles of cotton goods.

The high tariff on foreign sugar is much in

the way of producing that article at the price of the slave grown product. While it becomes the friends of free labor to endeavor to have that difficulty removed, the difference in price should by no means deter them from wholly abstaining from that which is the price of blood.

The difference in the price of the articles is a bribe offered to buy us to the side of the oppressor,—“Let every honest person *spurn* the bribe.”

We record with pleasure the abolition of Slavery in the Republic of Venezuela, by which a large portion of the population was liberated from bondage, and placed in immediate possession of the rights of citizenship. As that large and fertile country includes among its staples, coffee, cotton and Indigo, another facility is thus added to the means of supplying ourselves, with articles in daily use, upon which the markets have been mainly dependent upon countries where Slavery exists.

On the other hand it is with sorrow we refer to the repeal by the American Congress of the Act excluding Slavery from the North Western territory. This concession to the power of Slavery, made in the middle of the nineteenth century, by a nation claiming to stand in the front ranks of Christianity and civilization, is indeed cause for the deepest regret and humiliation. Yet even this deed, however sinful in itself, may, by the overruling Providence of God, be made to hasten the downfall of that system of wickedness it was designed to support and extend. Accordingly we find it has already aroused and deepened the Anti-Slavery feeling throughout the nation; even conservatism, which was formerly enlisted on the side of oppression, has by this act been thrown in opposition, and thousands of those who were for “letting Slavery alone,” when they see the system extending and strengthening itself over the land consecrated to freedom, will no longer remain idle, but will unite with the tried friends of the Slave for the overthrow of Slavery, and the elevation of our colored brethren to their proper rights as citizens. Hence we see that the Legislature of Connecticut has already by a large majority granted to her colored citizens the right to be heard through the ballot-box—and a very large proportion of the political press throughout the country has spoken out boldly, and arrayed itself firmly in opposition to the extension of Slavery.

These indignant feelings are again deepened and strengthened by the workings of the Act known as the “Fugitive Slave Law.” These wicked acts of our national Legislature will undoubtedly be the means of arraying hundreds of thousands, permanently on the side of Liberty and Justice to the whole human family; thereby furnishing another instance of the manner in which the Ruler of rulers, can “make the wrath of man to praise Him.”

While the sad truths, that deeds of sore oppression are doing in our land, that all of suffering

and degradation we would dread to share, and all we abhor in a life of tyranny and sin, continue to mark our history with such deep wrong and fearful iniquity—fall with oppressive weight upon our spirits, shall we fail to do what it is the duty of every enlightened accountable being to do, endeavoring to lessen human suffering and to advance the cause of “truth and righteousness in the earth.” Were our own beloved ones, for whose happiness we cherish the most tender desires and solicitude, bound in Slavery’s dread chains, should we then have any time to spend inactively. Should we then be *indifferent* to the exercise of tyrant power, or to what may appear to be even the most humble course of action, which may have a bearing and influence upon the existence and force of that power?—But wrong whether done to those we know not, or to those of our own household or kindred band, whether perpetrated against those of a lighter or darker complexion is the same. Why then should we not be enlisted with all our powers in efforts for the amelioration of the sufferings of Africa’s pleading children—how can we endure the thought of a *participation* in the cause of their enslavement? “There must be something wrong,” while we deem we may pass along the way of life “at ease in our full possessions,” without regarding the Lord’s suffering poor; when our exertions are not put forth to rescue the slave from the deep pit of degradation into which he is sunk:—deprived by force of all the pleasant things of life—deprived of the Bible—of all the high privileges of intellectual enjoyment—in short of all things in which we so much delight. Let us remember it is said, “he that shuteth his ears from the cry of the poor and needy, shall cry himself, and shall not be heard.”

In conclusion, let us, dear friends, exhort one another to more faithfulness; let us endeavor, if possible, to labor with clean hands—let our example correspond with our profession—let us not be a stumbling block to others, and above all, let us remember that in all our labor for down-trodden humanity, we are but unprofitable servants—but instruments which the Lord may be pleased to make use of, for the furtherance of His holy designs, and that we have no cause for uncharitable feelings towards those who do not appreciate our labors. But let us labor in the Lord’s time, for it is His work, and He alone is able to bless our efforts, and enable us to labor acceptably in His vineyard.

JUAN PLACIDO—THE CUBAN POET.

(Continued from page 66.)

I went to my mistress, and threw myself at her feet, she bade me get up, and ordered a good breakfast for me; but I could not eat anything, my heart was uneasy; Havana, with all the happy days I enjoyed there, was continually in my mind, and my only wish was to go

thither. My mistress observed with wonder my not eating breakfast, particularly of some nice stew she ordered for me: the truth is, that she could not do without me for a length of time, and this was the reason that my journeys to the Molino never exceeded nine or ten days, and although she struck me so often, and degraded me, calling me always the worst of all the Creoles born in the Molino, I was still attached to her, and shall never forget the care she had taken on my education.

After this she treated me with more kindness: she allowed me to go a fishing, which was my most pleasant amusement. Next morning my mistress went to the house of the Senora Gomez, where they played at cards, and it was my duty to stand behind her chair all the time: if she was a winner I carried home the money bag, and when I delivered it to her she put her hand into it and gave me some. She was much pleased, when she saw me making myself a pair of trousers, which I learned myself; for since the idea of freedom took possession of my mind, I endeavored to learn every thing useful to me: I invented many fancy things in my leisure hours, though these were few, I took sheets of paper, and doubling them in different shapes and forms, I turned them into various shapes as flowers, pineapples, shells, fans, epaulettes, and many more things, for which I was praised by everybody. As my mistress treated me with a little more kindness, I insensibly began to be more calm, my heart more composed, and to forget her late harsh behaviour towards me. I began to be as comfortable as ever; in a word, I thought myself already free, and waited only to be of age; this hope encouraged me to learn many useful things, so that if I should not be a slave I should earn an honest livelihood. At this time I wrote a great many sonnets. Poetry requires an object, but I had none to enflame my breast, this was the cause of my verses being nothing else than poor imitations. I was very anxious to read every book or paper that fell in my way, either at home or in the streets, and if I met with any poetry I learnt it by heart, in consequence of this, I could recite many things in poetry. Besides, when my mistress had company at dinner, and that was almost every day, she had always some poet invited who recited verses and composed sonnets extempore; I had in a corner of the room some ink in an egg-shell and a pen, and while the company applauded and filled their glasses with wine, away I went to my corner, and wrote as many verses as I could remember.

Three or four months after this, as my mistress was unwell, she was advised to go to a bathing town of Madruga to bathe; with her complaint she turned cross and peevish; she reproached my having disposed of my mother’s trinkets, having five brothers, and that that was robbery, and that if I was put in possession of

of the inheritance, I soon would lose it in gambling, and she was continually threatening me with the Molino and with Don Saturnino, whose last words were imprinted on my heart, and I had no wish to pay him another visit. With the belief that if I could go to Havana I would have my liberty, I inquired the distance and was told twelve leagues, which I could not reach on foot in one night; I then dropt for the present that idea, waiting for a better opportunity. It was my custom to clean myself and change twice a week, and one day before dressing I went to bathe in a bath, thirty yards distant; while in the bath my mistress called me, in an instant I dressed myself and was before her, "What were you doing in the bath? Who gave you liberty to go? Why did you go?" were her angry inquiries, and with her fist she made my nostrils bleed profusely; all this happened at the street-door, and before all the people, but what confused me more was, that there lived a young mulatto girl, of my own age, the first who inspired me with love, a thing I did not feel before; or rather I loved her as a sister, and our intercourse was kept up by some little presents from one to another, and I told her that I was free. About ten o'clock, my mistress ordered my shoes to be taken off and my head shaved, after which I was commanded to carry water for the use of the house, with a large barrel upon my head; the brook was distant thirty yards with a declivity towards it from the side of the house; I went, filled the barrel, and with some help I put it upon my head, I was returning up the little hill, when my foot missed, and down I went upon my knee, the barrel falling a little forward came rolling down, struck against my chest, and down both tumbled in the brook. My mistress said, "that is a trick of yours to evade work," she threatened me with the Molino and Don Saturnino, which name had a magic effect upon me, and I began to think seriously about escaping to Havana. The following morning when all the people were at church, a free servant called me aside, and in a whisper said to me, "my friend, if you suffer it is your fault; you are treated worse than the meanest slave; make your escape, and present yourself before the Captain-General at Havana, state your ill treatment to him, and he will do you justice;" at the same time showing me the road to Havana.

At eleven o'clock, I saw Don Saturnino arrive at the house; from this moment my heart beat violently, my blood was agitated, and I could not rest, I trembled like a leaf, my only comfort at that moment was the solitude of my room, there I went; and there I heard the servants talking together, one was inquiring of the other the reason of the coming of Don Saturnino. "Why," said the other, "to take away Juan F." This was more than I could endure, a general trembling took possession of my limbs, and my head ached very much. I fancied myself already in

the hands of Don Saturnino, leading me away tied like the greatest criminal—from this moment I determined on my escape. I left my room with this determination, when I met again the same servant, who said to me, "Man take that horse from the stable, and leave him outside, for fear that Don Saturnino may want him in the night, you will make too much noise, and will disturb your mistress—here are the spurs, take them, and there is the saddle, and so you will know where to find every thing." And then he gave me such a look as quite convinced me that, he advised me to take the opportunity, and not lose it. I was hesitating, yet I did not like to leave behind me my brothers, and then I was afraid to travel a whole night through roads unknown to me, and alone, and in danger of falling in with any commissary of police; but what was my surprise, when after supper, as I was sitting on a bench by myself, meditating about what to do, Don Saturnino came to me, and asked, "Where do you sleep?" I pointed to him the place and he went away; this entirely determined me to make my escape—he might have made the inquiry with a good intention, but I could not consider it but with great suspicion. I remembered at that moment the fate of one of my uncles, who in a case like mine, took the same determination of escaping to Havana, to Don Nicolas, Don Manuel, and the Senor Marques and was brought back again like a wild wild beast—but for all that I resolved to venture on my escape, and in case of detection, to suffer for something. I waited till twelve o'clock. That night everybody retired early, it being very cold and rainy. I saddled the horse for the first time in my life, put on the bridle, but with such trembling that I hardly knew what I was about, after that I knelt down, said a prayer, and mounted the horse. When I was going away, I heard the sound of a voice saying, "God bless you, make haste." I thought that nobody saw me, but as I knew afterwards, I was seen by several of the negroes, but nobody offered any impediment to my flight.—*To be Continued.*

For the Non-Slaveholder.

DIALOGUE ON SLAVERY.

(Continued.)

W. As far as thou hast noticed, do the slaves have any religious instruction?

H. In some portions of the extreme Southern States, the planters encourage missionaries to visit their negroes. This they do, not with a particular regard to the spiritual welfare of their slaves, but under an impression that judicious missionary labor, is calculated to make them better servants, by inculcating the doctrine of obedience. And really one might suppose from the way in which this doctrine is dwelt upon, and enforced, and from the frequent allusions to the injunction, "Servants be obedient unto your masters," that it would have this ten-

deñcy. The missionary, or stationed minister, (as the case may be,) preaches submission to the negroes, gives them to understand that slavery is sanctioned by the book of books, and then sits down with his patron to a table groaning beneath the avails of unrequited labor; after which he goes home to enquire how his own negroes have behaved in his absence. I knew of one preacher, who was married to his third wife, from whom it was reported that he had separated. This, however, proved not to be the fact. He had not parted from his wife, but had merely quarrelled with her, about the treatment of some of her negroes. He whipped them severely, and then put pepper and salt upon their raw backs. To the latter operation she demurred, and this caused the difficulty between them.

Negroes are permitted to join the Church under the supervision of their white bretheren. Upon being received into the society, it is customary for the members to give them the hand of fellowship, and on such occasions the "black brother" (or sister,) receives from most of the church members, the first and last shake of the hand, with which he is ever favored by them.

The minister to whom I have alluded, upon taking a negro into the water to baptize him, would raise his eyes towards heaven, stretch forth his arm, and with a sanctimonious tone of voice exclaim, "Ethiopia shall stretch forth her hand to God." Had he known the full force and meaning of those words, had he understood that in the dispensation of him who is of purer eyes than to behold iniquity, Ethiopia was even now stretching forth her hands to God, he would have paused ere he used them.—Yes—Ethiopia, down-trodden, her face in the dust, and her limbs in chains, is stretching forth her hands to God, exclaiming in agony, "How long? oh, Lord, how long?" And so surely as he is a prayer hearing God, so surely the day of her redemption draweth nigh. Human vision may not perceive it. The clouds which loom up in the horizon of freedom, may so darken the prospect, that at times the star of hope seems hid from the view; but he who led the children of Israel out of the land of Egypt, will yet break the bonds and let the oppressed go free.

AMERICAN SLAVERY, ITS CAUSE AND THE REMEDY.—No. 2.

Having in a former communication (page 12,) endeavored to show that purchasers and consumers of the productions of Slavery, are in a great measure accountable for the system on account of the demand which they create for those productions, I propose now further to examine the support therof, and see what other classes will appear accountable.

It is generally conceded that Slavery is contrary to the principles of justice, and to the common law which is founded thereon—that it is

therefore, necessarily upheld and supported by law. Hence law-makers are accountable—but who are the law-makers? "What we do by another we do ourselves." Then the sovereign people in this democratic country are the law-makers. Although we do not make the law ourselves, we make them by agents, whom we select by our votes. Hence all those who vote for Slaveholders, or for persons who use their influence in support of any law upholding Slavery, or making any distinction in regard to color, are, to a greater or lesser extent, accountable for this national crime.

But there is another power even stronger than law, which supports both Slavery and law. I allude to PUBLIC OPINION. Public opinion must generally coincide with law, or the law will become a dead letter on the statute book. This is abundantly proven by the fact, that there are many laws on our statute books that are seldom or never enforced. Public opinion indeed *makes* law, both by controlling the ballot-box, and by *encouraging* those who are chosen as Legislators. Hence *public opinion* is accountable for Slavery. But what makes *public opinion*? In a Christian community, the professors of Christianity give direction to it—in short the religion of a country forms its public opinion.

In America there are undoubtedly two millions of persons who know Slavery to be wrong, and who desire its discontinuance. This would have a great effect upon public opinion, if in all their actions they lived in opposition to Slavery, but these professed friends of freedom, whilst they are talking against Slavery, are at the same time directly giving support thereto, by purchasing and using its products—thus in a great measure neutralizing or counteracting the effect they wish, and ought to produce upon public opinion. Here we find them accountable for the continuance of Slavery, inasmuch as they fail to give proper direction to public opinion.

There are also a great number of professors, who, being accustomed to look upon Slavery in its milder forms, feel but little opposition to it—indeed, rather look upon it as a necessary evil; they have their influence in forming public opinion, and are in a great measure accountable.

There is another class of citizens to which I wish to call especial attention, as being accountable for the position of the last mentioned class, and as forming one of the strong bulwarks of Slavery, and one which is overlooked by many. I allude to the pious Slaveholders—those who treat their slaves well—many of whom are much concerned for their own and their slaves' temporal and spiritual welfare. It is, in my opinion, the example of these otherwise perhaps, pious, consistent Christians, that prevents the public opinion of community from being immediately aroused in earnest opposition to Slavery. These Slaveholders—many of whom doubtless desire to do their best, are forming a connecting link

between Slavery in its worst and natural character, and liberty, in such a manner as to withdraw the attention of a large portion of the Christian community from the legitimate fruits of Slavery: If all Slaveholders were of the most wicked character, public opinion would not long tolerate Slavery in our nation.

It is just so with drunkenness—moderate drinkers encourage the drunkard, and withdraw public attention from the evil. If there were no moderate drinkers public opinion would not long tolerate the evils of drunkenness.

There is usually in a community, a portion who have to be restrained from crime by the arm of law. This law is made by public opinion. Our aim should be to set public opinion right. But these pious Slaveholders, by their example hold a veil that prevents people generally from seeing the real character of Slavery. Hence the mild—the kind—the *Christian* slaveholders are in a very great measure accountable for Slavery in its worst forms and most cruel practices.

The *remedy* then would seem to be to hold a faithful mirror before this class, that they may see the real position they occupy; and the same benevolent feeling which prompts their kindness towards the Slaves, will in due time induce them to cease to be Slaveholders. Then will the veil be withdrawn, and Slavery in her naked loathsomeness can be seen by the whole Christian community, and public opinion will tolerate it no longer in our land.

The foregoing remarks are not made with a censorious feeling—but with a sincere desire, that we may all candidly and earnestly examine which way our influence tends. Whether we are each of us doing our part in behalf of suffering humanity, and whether, in endeavoring to remove Slavery, we are directing our attention to its real supports.

HUMANITAS.

For the Non-Slaveholder.

ENDORSEMENTS OF SOUTHERN PAPER.

Many people who apparently mean well, seem to estimate the character of Slavery by its public approval; others from the sanction of long practice, others from its supposed promotion of their convenience and interest—others again in their estimate are governed by educational influences, and others by the law of the land. Hence the man who is robbed of his most sacred rights, and even of himself, has few advocates, as few are disposed to consider and espouse the Slave's cause on its own merits.

The odious unjust enslavement of the colored man, and his posterity in the United States, has long been deemed legal, yet this imparts not a particle of justice to the outrage, and such law entitled to no weight in favour of the system of Slavery, especially when the same government has solemnly enumerated among the inalienable rights of all men, "life, liberty, and the

pursuit of happiness," and has declared that the end and aim of the government was to establish justice, and secure the blessings of liberty—(not Slavery.)

Why then should not Slavery be, by good men and Christians, spoken against and detested with the same abhorrence as if practiced contrary to law? It should—but this is far from being the case. The law is a powerful shield against the reprobation of the system. For example, suppose an American to be kidnapped by the Arabs, and when once in possession, their laws should recognize him and his posterity as their slaves—would the legality of the act, produce any abatement of its detestation by us? Not in the least! Law cannot alienate inalienable rights, and as it is impossible for the law to impair the slaves rights, so it is with public approval, custom, education, interest and the like;—however powerful,—they cannot impart the least justice to the act, and with the impartial these things cannot tend to give the system countenance or support.

The law tolerating Slavery in many respects, has had a binding influence upon the moral perception of the People—for, in a legal point of view, Slavery cannot be called man-stealing, robbery, invasion of rights, oppression, tyranny, &c. These acts in the eye of the law are criminal, and to them severe penalties are attached. Were the system placed on our statute books in its appropriate category, in agreement with its hideous character, the name, even, would be repulsive to the feelings of most people:—but the system has been denominated "Slavery," and over this dress has recently been thrown the less offensive term, "peculiar institution." These expressions, only indicate to many minds, the existence of a system of legalized servitude, of a certain class or race of men, very much suited to their condition, and ignorance, which will only be removed when this adaptation shall cease to exist from their improved condition. Thus we see the base act of chattelizing a man, and treating him as a beast of burden, is considered as only one of the imperfections of society, and demanding no more notice, if as much, as any little infringement upon the political or property rights of any of the white inhabitants. Let the claim of property in man be stripped of the false coloring, and clothing, with which it is invested by popularity, pride, prejudice, covetousness, and the government, and who would be willing to stoop so low as to give countenance or aid, to an act clearly seen to be worse than highway robbery? Certainly, not the humane, good, and wise. And it may be remarked, that these false colorings, have least influence upon those, in whose hearts the elements of goodness and wisdom least exist.

The Slave's claim to liberty is a valid one, at all times and places—consequently his Master's claim upon him is spurious. Now, does not the

man, who knowingly, without necessity, purchases directly, or indirectly of the Master, the produce of his slave's labor, make the most practical and valid endorsement of the Master's right to his slave? And who has a capacity to estimate the sum of these endorsements, and their amount of countenance and aid given to Slavery, even by those who would despise the idea of holding a slave.

Quaker Hill, 15th of 8th Mo., 1854. D. I.

THE NON-SLAVEHOLDER.

PHILADELPHIA, NINTH MONTH, 19, 1854.

WILLIAM FORSTER.—*Continued.*

There have been few persons, perhaps, more remarkable than William Forster for remembering those in bonds as bound with them. His anti-slavery feeling was both deep and abiding. It was not the result of popular agitation, but of a heartfelt recognition of the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man. As Channing said of the highest angelic intelligences, so we may say of him: he "recognized his own nature, his own rights, in the humblest human being." Nay, more than this,—he recognized in the most down-trodden bondman, one for whom the blood of the covenant was shed—one for whose soul a ransom has been paid of such amazing and unspeakable magnitude, that love and sympathy for such was a necessary result of his fidelity and adoring love to his Divine Redeemer who purchased him also, and washed him in His blood, and made him meet for an inheritance with the saints of light. His testimony against Slavery was a Christian, a consistent, a continual testimony,—and borne as it was with faithfulness and humility, it was much more felt than seen. Those who worked with him on committees and in conventions, knew how ready he was to undergo arduous labor *for the cause sake*, and to yield to others the post of prominence when popular eclat was to be attained. Of this, the records of the World's Convention in 1840 afford an illustration.

We omitted to mention, in the order of time, that in 1833 he was one of many delegates who went to London to press upon the ministers of the Crown the passage of the Emancipation Act. These delegates prepared a noble and powerful address,* which was adopted at a meeting in Exeter Hall and read, with great effect before the ministers, by Samuel Gurney; and which ended with a declaration that they would not cease to use all legitimate means for the accomplishment of their great object, until it should be fully attained. The appearance of this august delegation, in Exeter Hall and in Downing Street, was more impressive than our American readers will readily appreciate.—Through them the moral and religious influence

of the kingdom was brought to bear, and, in a moral sense, the measure might be said to be forced upon a Government which does not move in the direction of Mercy in advance of popular demand. Nor was his work in behalf of the Slaves confined to those efforts which can be seen by men. He bore their wrongs upon his heart. He carried them to the place of prayer, and spread them before the Judge of all the Earth—and

"When for the sighing of the poor
And for the needy, God had risen,
And chains were breaking, and a door
Was opened for the souls in prison,"

not the enfranchized slave himself, when standing in triumph upon the banks of deliverance, could send Heavenward a gush of purer thanksgiving than did this steadfast lover of mankind.

At the Yearly Meeting of London following the successful issue of the struggle for the abolition of the Apprenticeship System in the West Indies, William Forster, in a very weighty and impressive manner, proposed that the meeting should settle down in solemn quiet, in order that, if it might be permitted them, a feeling of reverent thankfulness might arise to the All-Wise Disposer of events, that he had been pleased to bless the efforts which had been employed for this end.

The meeting at once settled down, under a remarkably solemn, tendering, contriting feeling, which spread from mind to mind, and continued for a considerable period.

On the 18th of 5th month, 1853, commenced the last session of the London Yearly Meeting which our beloved friend attended. In the first sitting, the editor of the London Friend records that: "William Forster offered up a solemn supplication for all present, concluding with,— 'and above all, that we may all know our sins to be forgiven us, and our iniquities to be blotted out, for the sake of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.'" On the 20th, Josiah Forster having called the attention of the Yearly Meeting to the "importance of what he might call *the distinguishing principle of our religious Society, our belief in the immediate and perceptible influences of the Holy Spirit,*"

"William Forster near the close of this sitting, recurred most impressively to this subject in connection with some remarks on the position of those of our members whose lot was cast far from any meeting of their Friends, to whom the advantages of Christian fellowship were comparatively unknown, and who felt the privation deeply on their own account, and still more deeply, on account of their beloved children. He had recently been himself much separated from his brethren, and in wandering up and down in a foreign country, he thought he had been peculiarly prepared to sympathize with those to whom he had referred. And in mingling with those whose profession was far different from ours, some of whom, though being in countries where superstition was darkest, were yet alive to what true godliness consisted in, he had often felt, and had often been constrained to communicate the feeling that they sustained great loss from being strangers practically to the principle which induced us to sit down in silence together, and without depending upon human ministry, to wait upon the Lord. He desired that we

*It was written by J. J. Gurney.

might value and prize our privileges, and that the language of the prophet might be applicable to many of us, 'They shall be called trees of righteousness, the planting of the Lord, that he may be glorified.'—*London Friend*.

At a subsequent sitting, William Forster enforced at some length the importance of Friends maintaining their Christian principles when traveling in Foreign Countries.

"He believed that it would be a satisfaction to those Members of our Society whose engagements of whatever kind took them abroad, if they maintained their consistency, even to the avoidance of those places of public resort in which ceremonies were performed, which in our belief dishonored the truth. He alluded, too, especially to the principle of our Society, as to the right observance of the First-day of the week, and expressed his desire that Friends when traveling, would meet together, or even sit alone in silent waiting, after the manner of our Society; and he believed that they would derive strength if they would also set apart a time in the week, however short, for the performance of this duty, &c."—*London Friend*.

A friend in confirmation of Wm. Forster's remarks mentioned that he had spent much time in Rome, where there were usually 4,000 or 5,000 Protestants, most of whom did not hesitate to countenance by their presence the ceremonies of the Roman Catholic worship.

At the morning sitting of the yearly meeting, 5th Mo. 21st, our beloved friends, William Forster, Josiah Forster, John Candler and William Holmes, having, under an impression of religious duty, offered their services in presenting to the President and others in authority in the United States, the Anti-Slavery address to the Rulers and People of Nations professing Christianity, they were appointed to the mission. Very full unity and near sympathy was expressed, and the appointment was conferred with solemnity, such as is attendant upon obsequies.

We have mentioned under its proper date (page 68) the commencement of William Forster's engagement to deliver the address. We wish those of our readers who may not have fully appreciated this beautiful and dignified movement, to understand that it is not to be confounded with the excitements and agitations of the day, which are too often the result rather of

"The restless will
That harries to and fro,"

than of that pure and peaceable wisdom which cometh from above, which is full of mercy and of good fruits, and which, as Solomon declared, "in all ages entering into holy souls, maketh them friends of God and Prophets." It was undertaken previous to the popular book of Harriet Beecher Stowe, and prior to the passage of the unrighteous fugitive slave Bill, and was, beyond all doubt, a genuine religious concern, conceived in the wisdom of God, and carried out in His holy fear; and the dear friends engaged in it realized the blessed truth that "when a man's ways please the Lord, he maketh even his enemies to be at peace with him."

"In the course of the consideration of this interesting matter, John Pease said that, in looking over the history of our Society for the last twenty years, though it was often said we were not a proselyting people, there had been

no want of prepared messengers for the Lord's work, and he believed if each attended carefully to his own duty, and was concerned to be found in the path which the Great Head of the Church would mark out for his service, there would be found no lack of messengers in the Lord's service, nor would they lack the high commission."—*London Friend*.

William Forster, accompanied by various other valued friends, was, we believe, the bearer of the address to the monarchs of France, Spain, Belgium, Austria, Prussia, the sovereigns of the German States, Denmark and Sweden. It was presented in Portugal, (with most interesting and gratifying attendant circumstances) by John Candler and R. W. Fox; and in Brazil, by John Candler and Wilson Burgess, of whose movements we gave an extended account in Nos. 9 and 10 of our last volume.

(To be continued.)

LITERARY NOTICES.

THE PERSONAL NARRATIVE OF MRS. MARY DOUGLAS, *a Southern Woman who was imprisoned for one month in the common jail at Norfolk, Va: under the laws of Virginia for the crime of teaching free colored children to read.* Boston—John B. Jewett & Co.—Cleveland, Ohio, Jewett, Proctor & Worthington—Philada., Willis Hazzard. 65 pages—with a fine portrait by Sartain.

The noble-minded authoress was determined that the world should know the story of her wrongs, and she has made a readable and most interesting book which is on sale for the low price of 25 cents, and we recommend all our friends to purchase, read, and circulate it.

POEMS BY FRANCIS ELLEN WATKINS A COLORED POETESS. —This interesting and really creditable little book, for extracts from which we quite regret that we have not room, is on sale at the A. S. Office in Philadelphia, at the low price of 15 cts. and we commend it to our friends.

WHAT CAN I DO, A TINY CHILD?

"What can I do, a tiny child,
To ease the toiling slave?
There is so little sugar in
The sweetmeats that I crave.
Millions of slaves are in our land—
One moment's work from them
Would furnish all the sweets I want—
Then can I be to blame?"

'Tis true, my love, thy little bill
Small morsels may supply,
But never let oppression's fruit
Thy hunger satisfy.

The bowl that holds the ocean vast
Is made of tiny sands,
And if each darling babe, like thee,
Would nimbly use its hands

To aid the slave, how much they all
Might do, in works of love!
Each might, each day, a grain of sand
From his sad load remove.

The self-denial of my child,
The gushings of thy heart,
May yet, to stronger, abler ones
An impetus impart.

To thee, altho' a little child,
A sense of right is given,
And such as thou mayst be, compose
The countless hosts of Heaven. W. J. A.

THE NON-SLAVEHOLDER.

"Whoso gives the motive, makes his brother's sin his own."

VOL. II.—NEW SERIES.]

PHILADELPHIA, TENTH MONTH, 1854.

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WILLIAM J. ALLINSON, EDITOR.

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JUAN PLACIDO—THE CUBAN POET,
Concluded from page 76.

Our last number left the Poet-slave on horse-back, at fearful risk, endeavoring to escape from cruel and hateful bondage; and our readers have felt reluctant to wait for a month, to know the success of his journey. One of our correspondents, an octogenarian, got into his carriage on reading our last instalment of the narrative, undertook a journey of many miles, to Burlington, and immediately on entering our apartment queried anxiously whether Placido made good his escape. We are always disposed to gratify the reasonable curiosity of our readers, although we like to do it in our own time and way, but we were not able to set the old gentleman's mind at rest on this point. From the sources we have for conjecture, we presume that he must have been recaptured.

It may have been subsequent to this, assuredly it was whilst in slavery, that he penned his ode, entitled

THIRTY YEARS.

When I think on the course I have run,
From my childhood itself to this day,
I tremble, and fain would I shun,
The remembrance its terrors array.

I marvel at struggles endured,
With a destiny frightful as mine,
At the strength for such efforts: assured
Tho' I am, 'tis in vain to repine.

I have known this sad life thirty years,
And to me, thirty years it has been
Of suffering, of sorrow and tears,
Every day of its bondage I've seen.

But 'tis nothing the past—or the pains,
Hitherto I have struggled to bear,
When I think, oh, my God! on the chains,
That I know I'm yet destined to wear.

Whittier, in one of his essays, says: "Some literary gentlemen in Havana, into whose hands two or three pieces of his composition had fallen, struck with the vigor, spirit and natural grace which they manifested, sought out the author, and raised a subscription to purchase his freedom." The price paid for this son of song, whom nature had marked out as one of her noblemen, albeit he was born to servitude and with a sable skin, was 800 dollars. He was now about thirty-eight years of age. On becoming his own master he maintained himself awhile as a tailor. After this he went out to service. Next, he tried the business of a house-painter, but being unsuccessful he set up as a confectioner, and, losing all his money in this adventure, with a strong heart and versatile talents, he turned to other expedients for providing things honest in the sight of all men.

At the request of the gentleman to whom he was mainly indebted for his liberation, he wrote his auto-biography in two parts. The first, we have given entire—the second part "fell into the hands of persons connected with his former master," and, from the manner in which R. R. Madden alludes to it, we infer that it was loaned and never returned. It doubtless contained much interesting incident—but the part already given in the Non-Slaveholder conveys "the most faithful picture of Cuban slavery that has ever been given to the world."

Subsequently he figured as a Revolutionist, and was "the acknowledged leader of a wide spread and well planned revolt of the slaves in the city of Havana and the neighboring plantations and villages." Far be it from us to advocate or applaud revenge and bloodshed in black men or in white men. Far better had it been for Placido to have spread his cause and that of his oppressed countrymen, before the Lord, and devoutly to have watched and waited for the period when a glory should be revealed and bestowed, with which the sufferings of even a down trodden slave's mortal life are not worthy to be compared. But we are placing before our readers the career, the achievements, and capabilities of a black man, and we only demand that his struggles for freedom, his efforts on be-

half of his kindred and his fellows, his adoption of Patrick Henry's watchword—"Give me liberty or give me death"—should be judged of by the same rules which we would apply to a Brutus, a Washington, a Cromwell, or a Bolivar.

The sequel of his career we give in Whittier's words, which we extract from "*The Stranger in Lowell*."

"The disastrous result of the late insurrection of the slaves in Cuba is well known. Betrayed, and driven into premature collision with their oppressors, the wronged and maddened bondmen were speedily crushed into subjection. Placido was arrested, and after a long hearing, was condemned to be executed, and consigned to the 'Chapel of the condemned.'"

How far Placido was implicated in the insurrectionary movement, it is now perhaps impossible to ascertain. The popular voice at Havana pronounced him its leader and projector; and as such he was condemned. His own bitter wrongs; the terrible recollections of his life of servitude; the sad condition of his relatives and race, exposed to scorn, contumely, and the heavy hand of violence; the impunity with which the most dreadful outrages upon the persons of slaves were inflicted,—acting upon a mind fully capable of appreciating the beauty and dignity of Freedom, furnished abundant incentives to an effort for the redemption of his race, and the humiliation of his oppressors. The *Heraldo*, of Madrid, speaks of him as "the celebrated poet, a man of great natural genius, and beloved and appreciated by the most respectable young men of Havana." It accuses him of wild and ambitious projects, and states that he was intended to be the chief of the black race after they had thrown off the yoke of bondage.

He was executed at Havana in the 7th month, 1844.—According to the custom in Cuba with condemned criminals, he was conducted from prison to the "Chapel of the Doomed." He passed thither with singular composure, amidst a great concourse of people, gracefully saluting his numerous acquaintances. The chapel was hung with black cloth, dimly lighted. Placido was seated beside his coffin. Priests in long black robes stood around him chanting in sepulchral voices the service of the dead. It is an ordeal under which the stoutest-hearted and most resolute have been found to sink. After enduring it for twenty-four hours he was led out to execution. Placido came forth calm and undismayed; holding a crucifix in his hand, he recited in a loud, clear voice a solemn prayer in verse, which he had composed amidst the horrors of the "Chapel." It thrilled upon the hearts of all who heard it. I am indebted to a friend for assistance in rendering this remarkable prayer into English verse:

PRAYER OF PLACIDO.

God of unbounded love and power eternal!

To Thee I turn in darkness and despair,
Stretch forth Thine arm, and from the brow infernal
Of Calunny the veil of Justice tear!
And from the forehead of my honest fame
Pluck the world's brand of infamy and shame!

O King of kings!—my father's God—who only
Art strong to save, by whom is all controlled,
Who giv'st the sea its waves, the dark and lonely
Abyss of heaven its light, the North its cold,
The air its currents, the warm sun its beams,
Life to the flowers, and motion to the streams;

All things obey Thee; dying or reviving
As thou commandest; all, apart from Thee,
From Thee alone their power and life deriving,
Sink and are lost in vast eternity!
Yet doth the void obey Thee; since from nought
This marvellous being by Thy hand was wrought.

O merciful God!—I cannot shun Thy presence,
For through its veil of flesh Thy piercing eye
Looketh upon my spirit's unsoiled essence,
As through the pure transparency of the sky;
Let not the oppressor clap his bloody hands,
As o'er my prostrate innocence he stands!

But, if alas, it seemeth good unto Thee

That I should perish as the guilty dies,
That, a cold mangled corse, my foes should view me
With hateful malice and exulting eyes,
Speak Thou the word, and bid them shed my blood,
Fully in me Thy will be done, O, God!

On arriving at the fatal spot, he sat down as ordered, on a bench with his back to the soldiers. The multitude recollected, that in some affecting lines, written by the conspirator in prison, he had said that it would be useless to seek to kill him by shooting his body—that his heart must be pierced ere it would cease its throbbings. At the last moment, just as the soldiers were about to fire, he rose up and gazed for an instant around and above him, on the beautiful capital of his native land, and its sail-flecked bay, on the dense clouds about him, the blue mountains in the distance, and the sky glorious with the summer sunshine. "Adios mundo!" (Farewell world!) he said calmly, and sat down. The word was given, and five balls entered his body. Then it was, that amidst the groans and murmurs of the horror-stricken spectators, he rose up once more and turned his head to the shuddering soldiers, his face wearing an expression of superhuman courage. "Will no one pity me?" he said laying his hand over his heart. "Here, fire here!" While he yet spake, two balls entered his heart and he fell dead. Thus perished the hero poet of Cuba. He has not fallen in vain. His genius, and his heroic death, will doubtless be regarded by his race as precious legacies. To the great names of L'Onverture and Petion the colored man can now add that of Juan Placido.

Of his Poetical writings, we regret that we have only room for a few passages, which we offer as fair specimens of his verse. From the following passage in his *Apostrophe to DEATH*, we infer that he was a married man and happy in his connection.

"I only beg thou wilt not ask of me
This gift of life which God was pleased to give,
While passion's spell is on my heart—nor yet
While angry feelings rankle in my breast,
Nor when remembrance ever is beset
With wrongs that men despair to see redressed.
Oh, yet not while I feel this bosom rise
With tender transports, when the partner dear
Of all my cares, with bright and beaming eyes
Smiles in my face—and Eden's joys seem here.
But let it be when thou dost see me yield,
Give my whole heart and soul to God above;
To him who gave me life, nay more, revealed
The truths of life eternal and of love!"

What the Bard of Amesbury declares to be his "best and noblest production," having "all the grandeur and stateliness of the old Spanish muse," is an ode "To Cuba," written on the departure of Dr. Madden from that Slavery cursed Isle, thus majestically commences:

"Cuba!—of what avail that thou art fair!
Pearl of the Seas!—The pride of the Antilles!
If thy poor sons have still to see thee share
The pangs of bondage and its thousand ills?
Of what avail the verdure of thy hills?—
The purple bloom thy coffee plain displays?
The cane's luxuriant growth, whose culture fills
More graves than famine, or the sword finds ways
To glut with victims calmly as it slays?—

Of what avail that thy clear streams abound
With precious ore, if wealth there's none to buy
Thy children's rights, and not one grain is found
For Learning's shrine, or for the altar high
Of poor, forsaken, downcast Liberty?—
Of what avail the riches of thy port,
Forests of masts, and ships from every sea,
If TRADE alone is free, and man, the sport
And spoil of Trade, bears wrongs of every sort!

Cuba! O Cuba!—when men call thee fair,
 And rich, and beautiful, the Queen of Isles,
 Star of the West, and Ocean's gem most rare,
 O, say to those who mock thee with such wiles:
 Take off these flowers, and view the lifeless spoils
 Which wait the worm, behold their hues beneath
 The pale, cold cheek; and seek for living smiles
 Where Beauty lies not in the arms of Death,
 And Bondage taints not with its poison breath!"

An Ode on RELIGION, is not only fraught with devotional feeling, but is finely poetic. It opens in an elevated strain, which is well sustained throughout.

Yes, tho' in gloom and sadness I may rise,
 One blessed strain can soothe my troubled mind,
 No sooner wakened than with streaming eyes,
 Upward I look, and there I seek my goal.
 Soaring in spirit o'er the things of earth,
 The spark imprisoned bursts its bonds of clay,
 I feel delight above all human mirth.
 And wrapt in love, I live but then to pray;
 To thee, dear Father!—mighty and supreme!
 Immense! eternal! infinite! and blest!
 Oh, how the grandeur of the theme doth seem
 To enlarge my thoughts, and to inflame my breast.

Alluding to the early Christian Martyrs, subjected to tyranny

"That fitting agent of a spirit's aim,
 Indocile ever to the God of Love,"

he says,

"Thousands of martyrs fell beneath its sway:
 Still in that cradle purpled with their blood
 The infant faith waxed stronger day by day."

Some passages in this poem evince a degree of appreciation of the Divine legacy which is given "not as the world gives:"

"Oh when the mantle of thy peace descends,
 How the soul then exults in her attire!
 The garb of Grace to every thought extends,
 And wraps reflection in seraphic fire."

With the concluding passages of this Ode we close our memoir, trusting that the space it has filled has not been inappropriately occupied, as it demonstrates the wickedness of slavery, the unfitness of man to be trusted with irresponsible power, and the high capabilities which may lie dormant in a despised, maltreated, chattelized bondman.

"In thee, I find all purity and peace,
 All truth and goodness, wisdom far above
 All worldly wisdom, might beyond increase,
 And yet surpassing these, unbounded love.
 Oh, that its light were shed on those whose deeds
 Belie the doctrines of the church they claim;
 Whose impious tongues profane their fathers' creeds,
 And sanction wrong, e'en in religion's name.

Oh, God of mercy, throned in glory high,
 O'er earth and all its miseries, look down!
 Behold the wretched, hear the captives' cry,
 And call thy exiled children round thy throne!
 There would I fain in contemplation love,
 On thy eternal beauty, and would make
 Of love one lasting canticle of praise,
 And ev'ry theme but that, henceforth forsake."—[Ed.]

For the Non-Slaveholder.

T. Shillitoe in speaking on the subject of Temperance, says,—“So far as we are deficient in using our influence and authority to remedy these and other evils that abound, we become parties thereto in the Divine sight.”*

* Frds Library, vol. 3, p. 198.

Is not Slavery one of the “other evils”? and are we using our best endeavors to do away with that iniquitous system, while we are constantly demanding fresh supplies of Slave grown articles, to yield which, in sufficient quantities, the slaveholder resorts to extreme severity, in order to exact the greatest amount of labor from his helpless victims? Who is the cause of this suffering? those who produce, or those who will consume these blood-stained articles? C.

From Burritt's Bond of Brotherhood.

THE CHRISTIAN BRAVE.

We had the pleasure, some months since, of introducing to our readers, under the above title, a true peace hero. Many will, we think, recall with lively interest the narrative which we presented of the devoted and self-denying labours of this good man among the Pawnee Indians; his journey of 1,700 miles, performed on foot, to the far-west; his residence among the tribe; and the hardships he endured in sustaining his self-appointed mission and his own existence by the labours of his own hands. It will be remembered that his faithful maintenance of the principles of Christian non resistance exposed him, at first, to great difficulty and obloquy with his Indian neighbors, who, regarding a refusal to fight as indicative only of cowardice, gave him the name of “Woman,” as the most contemptuous epithet they could bestow upon a man.—When, however, the enemy approached, and the white man alone appeared unperturbed and without alarm, going with his spade to his daily labour, unmoved by the warnings of danger, and the entreaties to hide if he would not fight, contempt was changed into admiration, and the Pawnees ever afterward distinguished their white friend and benefactor by the highest title of honour bestowed upon their heroes—he was called “A BRAVE!”

It is now our privilege to number this good man among our personal friends, and we are sure that our readers will gladly trace with us some further and recent scenes in his useful and adventurous career. His life presents a most remarkable instance of the true apostolic spirit.—Feeling himself called to labour in distant parts of the globe, he has travelled, in simple, trustful faith, and with earnest singleness of purpose, over a large extent of the North American continent and Southern Europe, laboring always without fee or reward, sometimes accepting the hospitality of friends, but ever ready to work at the roughest manual employment to support himself. He entered our office in London some months since. A remarkably tall man, somewhat stooping, indeed, from overgrowth; dressed in a suit of snuff-brown home-spun cloth; his clothes cut after the primitive fashion; wearing no neckcloth, but with the collar of his shirt buttoned closely and neatly round his neck, He wore a somewhat broad-brimmed hat, and, but

for the collar to his coat, would have been taken for a "ministering Friend," come up from some remote country district to attend yearly meeting.

The countenance was a true index of the man, and the tones of his voice were modulated by a heart full of love and gentleness. As we took that large hand into our own, felt its quiet, fraternal grasp, looked up at the giant frame that stood before us, and towered above us, and then then listened to the child-like gentleness of the stranger's greeting, we felt that we were in the presence of no ordinary character, of one whom it would be safe to love and trust at first sight.

He told us many interesting particulars of his experience in his native country; of his efforts to instruct and evangelize the Indians; following their occupations, living, and at times almost starving, as they do; and of the love they bore him for his service among them; then of his mission to California; of his sympathy for the sick and dying who were overtaken by the pestilence upon the Isthmus of Panama, among whom he halted for some months, acting as nurse and pastor to hundreds of poor, deserted, or friendless emigrants, stopped on their way to the gold regions. We must not pause to recount his career among the diggers; his labours to suppress gambling and intemperance, nor of his success in procuring the erection of a hospital in San Francisco, by which the life of many a friendless, fever-struck stranger was saved, and the sufferings of the sick immigrants greatly alleviated. Our immediate purpose is to speak of his present mission in Europe, and to notice the remarkable leadings of Providence by which his footsteps have been directed to the East, and a way opened for him through difficulties and obstacles which, humanly speaking, were of the most hopeless and insurmountable character.

Imagine our friend sitting in his lonely, humble lodging in New York; his heart full of grateful remembrances connected with his recent travels, and the blessing which had been permitted to attend his labors. And now a new call of duty arises in his heart; he has dealt with varied phases of sin and suffering and heathenism in his own country; but a drawing sympathy begins to develop itself for those who are the victims of ignorance and superstition in the Papal States of Europe. He has read of the once imperial Rome, and of the present abject and humiliating condition of her people. The thought takes possession of his soul, that if a poor laboring man like himself could get to Rome, and were to make his dwelling among the Roman poor, learning their language, joining with them in their daily labour, finding his way, as opportunities offered, to the sick and suffering, and sorrowful, winning, by patient acts of kindness, forbearance, and good will, their confidence and affection, that then he might present to many hearts, in a quiet conversational manner, the pure simple truths of the Gospel. It was not

his purpose to denounce Popery, but to breathe, as it were, a New Testament influence upon all to whom he could gain access. Amongst those who knew and loved him, of his kindred and friends, there was not one to approve or encourage this new enterprise. Its difficulties and dangers were patent to all. Every one was ready to warn and deter, but no one could muster the courage or the faith to say—"If it must be so now, do this, and the Almighty give thee mercy before the man." Our friend, however, was not to be daunted; human sympathy he greatly valued and enjoyed when it came, but his dependence was never placed upon it. He sought counsel and encouragement at a higher source, and walked in the guidance of a wisdom which he had learned to trust with implicit and child-like faith.

He labored hard as a woodcutter, and saved a few dollars—enough to pay his passage to England. With these he took a steerage berth, and made his way to our shores, landing an entire stranger in Great Britain, without a spare sovereign for his maintenance, and with very slight introductions to procure him a personal welcome. That welcome, however, he found with a humble minister, actively engaged in ministering to the spiritual necessities of a poor, but very populous outskirt of London; and here, as our friend expressed it, he soon found that the Lord had some work for him to do. The guest at once became the invaluable helper, not as a preacher, for he modestly disclaimed all qualifications for the public ministry; but in many a garret home, and by many a sick bedside, he was a welcome visitor, ever ready to pour in the consolations of the Gospel. He loved to act as a wayside missionary, and was fond of joining groups of street-loiterers; and his kind words of counsel and invitation, or his proffered tract, generally met with a respectful acceptance, for his manner, and the very tones of his voice, seemed peculiarly adapted to please and conciliate the hardest and most rugged natures. He was a constant visitor, too, at the schools, where his genial, pleasant talk was a source of great joy to the children. His zeal in the temperance cause was great, and he labored unceasingly to win converts to the practice of total abstinence.

In the midst of these varied and useful labors, which extended over several months, he never lost sight of the great object of his voyage to the old world. His heart was ever set to go to Rome, whenever the Lord should seem to prepare a path for his feet. He talked with us frequently of his hopes and plans. He also made known his prospects at the office of the British and Foreign Bible Society, and of one or two of the leading missionary societies. The authorities there listened kindly to his statements, but could not venture to encourage what seemed so hopeless an undertaking. They represented, in the strongest colors, the difficulties and dangers of

such a mission:—the jealous vigilance of the Papal authorities, their dread of popular instruction, the terror of their dungeons, and, possibly, even the peril of life itself. The simple reply to this was—"I have nothing to do with consequences. If I counted liberty or life in the matter, I should not have been thus far on my way. To Rome I intend to go!"

"And how do you propose to travel? What funds have you for the journey?"

"None. I intend to walk."

"But how shall you subsist by the way?"

"My heavenly Father has never yet withheld my daily bread, and I can trust Him still."

At this juncture it occurred to a friend to make inquiry for some vessel bound for one of the Italian ports, and to ascertain on what terms a passage could be secured. On application to the Messrs. Fox at Falmouth, the case was met in the kindest and most generous spirit, and a free passage was proffered to Leghorn in a schooner, bound from one of the Cornish ports with a cargo of fish. This unexpected opening, together with a free railway journey to the west, kindly furnished by one or two friends unknown to the recipient, removed all obstacles, and within eight hours from the receipt of the summons, the traveller was in the mail-train, on his way to Plymouth. A note of introduction procured him a cordial and truly fraternal greeting from a friend in that town, by whom he was passed on to the small port of Mevagissey, in Cornwall. Here he found a schooner chartered by Messrs. Fox, commanded by a good, kind-hearted Christian man (Captain Fishwick), who had most generously consented to convey him to Leghorn free of all expense, but who now speaks as though he were the obliged party in having such a passenger.—The voyage was a season of mutual satisfaction and spiritual enjoyment to both, the only drawback that occurred being the protracted suffering of our friend from sea-sickness. Notwithstanding this, however, he endeared himself greatly to all on board by the interest which he manifested in their spiritual welfare, and his happy and affectionate manner in imparting religious instruction. His counsel appeared to be specially blessed to the mind of the captain's son, who was serving as mate on board. Arrived at Leghorn, the friends were in no haste to part, and an ample field of labor was at once presented among the shipping in that great port. It is interesting to hear Captain Fishwick speak of the labors of his guest at this period. From ship to ship he made his way; at first shunned and repulsed, but never disheartened; overcoming by degrees all opposition, and winning at last the confidence and warm affection of the various crews by which they were surrounded. They would gather round him in groups, on the deck, or down in the fore-castle of their ships, listening eagerly as he read to them the Holy Scriptures, and expounded to them the living truths of

Christianity. Religion, taught by such an exemplar, melted many a stubborn heart; and the captain of a large American ship, who had been a most profane character, acknowledged to Captain Fishwick, with tearful emotion, that it was a blessed day for him which laid the schooner alongside his ship, and brought such a visitor on board. The Bethel Flag flew frequently from the schooner's masthead; prayer meetings were held, and Captain Fishwick himself preached regularly every Sabbath-day.—(*To be Continued.*)

For the Non-Slaveholder.

A WORD TO ABOLITIONISTS.

Can we innocently share the gain of Oppression?

What good will it do? is a question often proposed to the advocates of Free Produce. "If all would abstain something might be done, but what can individuals accomplish in this way against the giant sin of slavery?" It is probable that multitudes of slaveholders theoretically opposed to slavery, reason in the same manner, and with quite as good grounds. We would answer you, as we answer them, even if you can see no direct or immediate good it will do, *wash your own hands of all voluntary participation in the sin you condemn.* Let your action be consistent if you would have your influence felt; and because you cannot do all, do not refuse to do all you have power to do. Anti-slavery men have often quoted the noble sentiment, "Actions are ours, events are God's," they have never admitted that we were free to refuse to do any duty, till we had stipulated that a reward should be given in the success of our works.

But we believe it would be impossible to estimate the amount of good resulting to the cause of liberty in this country and throughout the world, by a consistent course of action in this respect on the part of the anti-slavery community. It would at once place us on a high moral elevation from which we could command a clear view of slavery. It would give immense force to professions, the sincerity of which might otherwise be justly questioned. It would promote anti-slavery feeling, by constantly reminding us of the actual existence of slavery. It would lead to much enquiry—and enquiry on the side of truth and right is ever productive of good. It would be an appeal to the heart of the slaveholder of great moral power. *It would strike at the root of slavery.* It would cause the oppressor to tremble, and be an earnest to the crushed and sorrowing bondman that the day of his redemption drew nigh.

From Burrill's Bond of Brotherhood.

BAGGING WIDOWS' MITES AT THE TREASURY.—The true-hearted devotion of the poor widow in Scripture, who cast into the treasury her whole substance, made her two-mite gift a richer donation in the Saviour's eyes than the ostentatious offerings which the rich Pharisees poured in from their stores. There are thousands of poor widows and orphans in this country, who, with hearts full of faith and love, bring their little money-mites to the Lord's treasury, to contribute to the spread of His Gospel of grace and salvation in pagan regions, and in dark places at home. And there is the richest Government in the world, that, with a bag under its cloak containing twenty millions of dollars of surplus revenue, and a hooked excise knife in its right hand, follows these widows and orphans stealthily to the altar of their loving sacrifice, and cuts their mite-offering in two, dropping the largest halves into his own treasures, to chink feebly between its solid ingots of

gold. What a charge! Prove it if you can. We will, by two or three simple facts. A short time ago, a poor missionary among the pagan tribes of Africa, labouring, like his Master, with hardly a place to lay his head, and living on the food of almost savages, sent across the sea a packet of letters directed to different friends in America. It reached New York *via* England, charged with *Five Dollars and Seventy-five Cents postage* (£1 4s.1) Of course, "The American Missionary Association," to whose care it was directed, paid this charge, and took it from the office; for they recognized the handwriting of a faithful laborer. But this heavy postage was to be paid out of the little gifts dropped into the treasury of this Christian mission. Here are three items that helped to make up the amount. A poor young woman, in the State of Massachusetts, sent a pair of silver sleeve-buttons, left by her grandfather, who had worn them sixty years or so. These were the only two mites of the remnant of his fortune, and she thought it would be his wish in heaven that they should go for the Gospel to the heathen. The goldsmith valued them at *twenty-five cents*, (1s.) The second gift was a dollar from an old man above ninety years of age, in Vermont, who sent it as the last offering he could ever make on earth. Then an afflicted woman in Maine, who had been confined to her couch for years, sent the proceeds of her needlework, at which her lean fingers had plied for twelve months, in the uncertain moments of less acute suffering. And these amounted to *three dollars*—a gift which it gladdened her heart with gratitude to bestow on the cause she loved. Here, then, there were four dollars and twenty-five cents, contributed in a spirit which the Saviour saw and commended in the widow's donation of two mites. How precious in His sight must have been the thousand thoughts of love and faith associated with these three contributions! The whole sum came almost within a dollar of paying the postage which a Government, with a bag of twenty millions of dollars surplus revenue under its cloak, and a hooked excise-knife in its right hand, charged upon the letters of the shoeless missionary of the Gospel in Africa to his friends in America!!! Perhaps some decrepid old woman, with dim eyes and palsied hands, pared and dried apples, or collected mustard seed, enough to make up the full amount demanded at the post-office for the little packet he sent across the sea. The American Board for Foreign Missions pay nearly three thousand dollars a year for ocean postage on their correspondence with various missionary stations and persons abroad. Think how many hundreds of little gifts, like to those described, are yearly swallowed up by this heavy postal charge on missionary intelligence. Let every one, then, who loves the cause of missions, ask for an *Ocean Penny Postage*.

THE NON-SLAVEHOLDER.

PHILADELPHIA, TENTH MONTH, 19. 1854.

WILLIAM FORSTER.—The conclusion of our notice of this beloved Friend is crowded out of the present number.

PROSPECTIVE CHANGE.—We are gratified in announcing an expected change in the Editor, in the name, and in the size of this Journal; a change so complete, that our readers may be ready to conclude that there will be no identity left. But the *objects* will still be retained, and we trust the subscribers also, with large addition. "BURRITT'S CITIZEN OF THE WORLD," the *Prospectus* of which will be found on another page, ought to have an extensive circulation, and a hearty welcome to the home of every philanthropist. When, about two years ago, it was believed to be necessary to resuscitate the Non-Slaveholder, we yielded to the request of our friends, reluctantly, and because there was a duty to perform which we saw no one else prepared to undertake. But now we learn that the beloved ELIHU BURRITT, with his great heart and vast mind, is willing to become once more an American Editor, and it is with no ordinary glow of satisfaction that we rise to proffer him our chair, and to pass over into such hands the advocacy of the Free Labor doctrines, confident that these and other principles which we have endeavored to promote, will be more ably advocated by him. The first number of the "Citizen of the World" will be issued at the beginning of the year 1855, and we invite our friends, for the love of truth and humanity, to make themselves acquainted with the terms, to constitute themselves voluntary agents, and at an early date to send in to the Publisher lists of subscribers, always remembering the necessity of pre-payment.

We are assured that the testimony against the use of the products of Slave Labor will be continually and prominently upheld, whilst the variety of other matter, and the great ability of the distinguished Editor, will carry a presentation of this important principle to numbers of persons who would not be likely to see a paper which was chiefly restricted to that one subject.

COTTON FUND AND FREE LABOR FACTORY.—We are pleased and encouraged by the fact that the machinery is now in course of delivery and fitting up in the new Mill. A few more contributions to the Free Labor Cotton Fund are now really wanted. Why should there be any supineness respecting this effort? In every cotton growing state there are many producers of the free article, and these are regarded with contempt and shorn of their influence for good, in consequence of their working with their own hands to "provide things honest in the sight of all men." Extend, then, the Free cotton effort.

Seek out these honest producers. Show to their haughty neighbors that they are persons of some importance. Go to them, through your agents, money in hand, and talk to them, not of slavery or of abolition, but of FREE GROWN COTTON. Let Commerce be the missionary of liberty—let *her* preach the anti-slavery evangel. As you purchase your cotton, you will show to the Southerners that you *believe in your principles*. This will set them to thinking over their own private creed, and they will find that *they believe them too*.

FREE LABOR IN THE MIDST OF SLAVERY.—

A correspondent of the A. S. Standard, during a tour in Virginia, visited an agriculturist, with whom, and with his wife and son, he had free converse respecting the "peculiar institution." They agreed in the testimony which we have from many witnesses, "that poor people in the state are *looked down upon* by the slaveocracy as if they belonged to an inferior race;"—and the old farmer assured him "that the majority of the non-human-property-holders of Virginia are secret abolitionists." That this is the case in other slave states we have not a doubt. The idea that one human being can be the *property* of another human being, is not one which suggests itself to the instinct or to the reason of man. There is no rational being who does not possess light enough to reject such idea the moment that the tables should be turned and he himself claimed as a "chattel and thing person-*al*." The small farmers and the whole industrial class of the south, must regard with disfavor, a system which not only outrages humanity in the persons of the slaves, but also makes them in a certain sense its victims, causing them to be despised for that which, next to religion, is the highest dignity of man, which at once keeps him out of satan's service, and renders him useful to his species—to wit, honest productive labor.

Upon which of the two classes in Virginia, would God and the angels look down with most approval,—the large planter of thousands of acres, worked by unrequited bondmen, or the honest but poor farmer who has a claim against the whole world to the product of his own labor? "The highest intelligences," says Channing, "recognize their own nature, their own rights, in the humblest human being," and wherever, in all infinity, God's Kingdom is perfected, and purity reigns, the former of these two classes would be regarded with profound displeasure, and the latter, so far as this question is concerned, with approval. Could we suppose, for the presentation of our argument, that the holy angels should become incarnate, and have material wants, can any one believe that they would satisfy those wants by accepting the results of the coerced and unrequited toil, and the iniquitous oppression of the chil-

dren of their own glorious Father? And if these holy intelligences have attained to perfection, are not we, equally with them, *called to be perfect*? Ought not our standard to be as high and pure as theirs? Ought not our love for the slave, and for his oppressor, and our filial allegiance to the God and father of them both, to induce us to withhold the motive for the one to sin against the other?

The state of sentiment in the South which is indicated by the old Farmer's testimony, suggests various considerations. There is a large production in the Slave States, of articles untainted (or nearly so,) by Slave labor, and a systemized effort might select and bring it into the market, and thus depress the system of slavery, elevate the laboring class, correct, in measure, the unhealthful prejudice against labor, and plant successfully a testimony against slavery in the monster's most impregnable strong holds. *This the anti-slavery people might do, and a responsibility rests upon them for neglecting it.* By such a course, Non-Slaveholders would be rapidly elevated into influence, and in those states where they already form a majority, would soon show, in their election returns, in their Educational establishments, in the elevated tone of general public sentiment, that virtuous liberty is the parent of prosperity, and that to "cease to do evil" is to secure the favor and the blessing of Deity. We may reflect too, that the haughty blusterers at Washington, at whose feet Daniel Webster and a majority of our northern representatives ignominiously, like whipped spaniels, laid down manliness, consistency, and honor, by no means represent the principles of the entire South, but that there is a vast population whose interests are violated by slavery, and who cannot sympathize with the threats of disunion for its support.

In fact, we may learn, and it is "devoutly to be wished" that we may learn, that it is a policy as mistaken as it is unmanly and wrong, to concede sacred truth and right from a fear of agitation and excitement. The North has lost much, and has gained nothing, by every concession she has made, and we fully believe that in all cases, the sacrifice of principle involves the sacrifice of interest. A manly, firm, conscientious maintainance of the right, is the best specific against the aggressions of the wrong,—and the philosophy of pusillanimity is the surest prelude to defeat and disgrace—to the contempt of adversaries and the loss of self-respect.

INDIANA YEARLY MEETING.—By the report addressed to this Yearly Meeting on the 30th ult by its "committee on the concerns of the people of color," we are pleased to notice that from all the quarterly meetings, save one exhibits had been received of their labors for the benefit of the colored people in their respective limits. Twenty Schools for children of these people have

been sustained during the past year, in which a large number have received instruction. "In most of these School all the common branches of an English Education have been taught, and in nearly all of them by colored persons, some quite competent and efficient teachers. A considerable number of children have received instruction in the Schools of Friends, where they have not been in settlements so that Schools of their own could be had." It also appears that the christian care of Friends has extended to advising and assisting the poor and destitute of the colored population. Attention is called to the superior advantages which they possess in country situations, where they more frequently become useful and moral citizens than in cities and villages.

TEMPERANCE AND PROHIBITORY MOVEMENT IN ENGLAND.—A very deep interest upon the Temperance question pervades the moralists of Great Britain, and our favorite project of a PROHIBITORY LIQUOR LAW is in high favor among England's best and wisest men. It is no unimportant illustration of this, that *The Edinburgh Review*, in a long and able article, strenuously vindicates the Maine Law. Among about half a million petitioners to the House of Commons during its last session, asking for the closing of public houses on the first day of the week, were many ministers of religion, and attached to one of the petitions presented in 6th month last we notice the names of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London, Archdeacon Sinclair, &c. An advance step has been taken in the *Beer Act* which evinces that a concession to public sentiment was found to be necessary. On the great "Licensing day" in last month, many licenses were prevented by the remonstrances presented to the several Courts. Among the petitioners, we are happy to state, were many Episcopal Clergymen. At ASHTON, *Lancashire*, five ministers of the Church of England, six dissenting ministers, and 272 superintendents and teachers in Sabbath Schools, successfully protested against the granting of any new licenses. At BRADFORD, *Yorkshire*, 27 ministers of the gospel, the Vicar of the place, 3 Bankers, 200 Burgesses, &c., petitioned, and though 25 applications for license were made, only two were granted. At LEEDS ten Episcopal Clergymen, including the vicar Dr. Hook, a large number of dissenting ministers, and 105 other respectable inhabitants petitioned against an increase of public houses. We might considerably add to our list of cases illustrative of the same feeling. *Punch* in view of the absurd plea of the necessity of intoxicating liquor for the accommodation of the travelling community thus defines the word *Traveller*: "Any person who wants anything to drink." Our English Exchanges give numerous and revolting cases of crime and misery resulting from drunkenness. But, alas,—we need not import transatlantic testimony to prove the necessity for Prohibitory Law.

MORE GUILTY THAN THIEVES AND BURGLARS.—The "HON WM. JAY" speaking of the Nebraska and Kansas law, says: "The northern members of Congress who voted for that law, in my opinion incurred in the sight of God a deeper moral guilt than that of most of the thieves and burglars in our penitentiaries, for they sinned against clearer light and more abundant knowledge, and with a more deliberate contempt for truth, justice, liberty and human happiness than their imprisoned fellow criminals." This is plain but truthful and temperate language, and the sentiment of Wm. Jay carries weight.

THE LATE GOVERNOR BIGLER.—It gives us satisfaction to announce that William Bigler is soon to be relieved from responsibilities for the discharge of which he had not the requisite virtue. A dissatisfaction on the part of the people with his pro-slavery servility, is understood to have been a prominent cause of his defeat at the late election. So may all who insult the majesty of Heaven by violating the rights of our common Father's sable children, be removed from those official stations which ought always to be occupied by true men.

The present number has been kept back by a disappointment in the expected supply of paper.

BURRITT'S CITIZEN OF THE WORLD.

A Magazine of 16 pages of about the size of CHAMBERS' EDINBURGH JOURNAL,* will be published monthly, by George W. Taylor, Philadelphia, commencing with First Month, (Jan.) 1855, under the title of the "CITIZEN OF THE WORLD," edited by ELIHU BURRITT. Terms FIFTY CENTS *per annum*, to be paid invariably *in advance*.

"*The Citizen of the World*" will endeavor to merit its designation, by viewing from the elevated stand point of human brotherhood, all principles, policies, events, institutions and enterprises which affect the peace, prosperity, social intercourse and common welfare of the nations as a family, and the rights, duty and dignity of man as an individual being. Whilst it regards these with an impartial eye and records them with an impartial pen, it will glean and present all hopeful signs of progress; all honest homage to truth, right duty and Christian charity; and all the onward steps of governments and communities in the path prescribed by a righteous policy and the precepts of the Christian religion. With all this variety of topics, the "*Citizen of the World*," it is confidently believed, will be a welcome and useful visiter to the different members of every family that admits it to its social circle. Its pages will be filled with articles from the editor's pen, giving his personal observations and experiences in Europe, and with communications from correspondents in different parts of the world. For the young it will serve up many a little truthful story, and teaching illustration of the law of kindness and Christian love. For the Sabbath, it will have its page of religious instruction, selected by paragraphs from the most eminent Christian writers of different countries. For every occupation, and for every age, it will seek to present something interesting and useful.

All communications relating to the "*Citizen of the World*," should be addressed, post paid, to GEORGE W. TAYLOR, Box 777, Philadelphia.

* In other words—double the present size of the Non-Slaveholder—the page being the same.—[Ed.]

THE NON-SLAVEHOLDER.

"Whoso gives the motive, makes his brother's sin his own."

VOL. II.—NEW SERIES.]

PHILADELPHIA, ELEVENTH MONTH, 1854.

[No. 11.]

To Sovereigns and those in authority in the Nations of Europe, and in other parts of the World where the Christian Religion is professed.

From the Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends of Great Britain and Ireland, held in London, 1849.

It having pleased the Lord to bring our fathers to a sense of the cruelty and wickedness of the African Slave Trade, and of the injustice of holding their fellow men in Slavery, they were strengthened to act upon the conviction wrought on their minds: they set at liberty those they held in bondage, and in their faithfulness they enjoyed the answer of a good conscience towards God. In that love which comes from Him, their hearts were enlarged in love to their neighbor, and they could not rest without endeavoring to bring others to that sense of justice and mercy to which the Lord had brought them. From that time to the present day we have felt it to be laid upon us as a church to bear a testimony against the sin of Slavery.

We have believed it to be our Christian duty to represent the wrongs inflicted upon the people of Africa, and repeatedly to plead the cause of the Slave in addresses to our own Government. We rejoice and are thankful at the progress which has been made in this country and in other nations in this cause of righteousness. Hundreds of thousands of slaves have been restored to liberty, and many of the nations of the civilized world are now, to a large extent, delivered from the guilt of the African Slave Trade,—a trade which the Congress of Vienna, in 1815, pronounced to be "a scourge which desolates Africa, degrades Europe and afflicts humanity," and for the suppression of which laws have been enacted. But our hearts are sorrowful in the consideration that this traffic is still carried on to a large extent, and that a vast amount of the population of the western world is still subject to the cruelty and the wrong of Slavery. We desire to cherish this sympathy, and that we may behold the increase of it amongst all men everywhere.

One God is the Creator of us all, his eyes are in every place beholding the evil and the good. He will bring every work to judgment, and every secret thing, whether it be good or whether it be evil. The families of the earth are all of one blood; all partakers of the same corrupt nature

consequent upon the fall of man; all are alike subject to infirmity, disease, and death, and all amenable to the same judgment after death. In the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ there is no respect for persons; He tasted death for every man; all distinctions of country, tongue and color are merged in the immensity of that love in which the Father has sent his son to be the Saviour of the world. Wherever the religion of the Gospel of Christ obtains its proper place within us, it softens our hearts; it brings man into fellow-feeling with his fellow man; it brings him to regard every man as a brother, and to look upon the nations of the earth as all of one family. Amongst the millions of mankind there is not one beneath the notice of our Father who is in Heaven; if we be partakers of his love, it leads us into pity for the forlorn, the helpless and the oppressed; and it constrains us to do what we can to mitigate the pain and to assuage the sorrows of those who are in suffering; to befriend the friendless, and to labor for the improvement of the condition of the most degraded of our race.

We are now assembled in our Yearly Meeting for the promotion of charity and godliness amongst ourselves, and, according to our measure, for the spreading of truth and righteousness upon the earth. The condition of the natives of Africa, as affected by the continuance of the Slave Trade, and that of the Slaves in North and South America, and on the islands adjacent to that continent, have again awakened our sympathy. We submit to the consideration of all those in authority in the nations which take upon them the name of Christ, the utter incompatibility of Slavery with the divine law. "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." "All things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you do ye even so to them;" these were the precepts of our Lord. He spoke as never man spoke, and of his words He declared, "Heaven and earth shall pass away, but my words shall not pass away;" they are the law of God's righteousness to all generations. We submit whether, without breaking this law, it be possible for man to hold or claim a right to property in the person of his fellow man: whether, admitting the supreme authority of this law, man can buy or sell his brother: whether he can withhold from those who labour for him that which is just and equal; whether the forced and uncompensated labor of

the Negro slave be not the breaking of this law; in short, whether any man or any of the nations of men can, in any one of these things, violate the law of the Lord and be guiltless.

For the space of three hundred years, the trade in slaves has been carried on from Africa to the opposite shores of the Atlantic; and this traffic in the persons of men is still prosecuted with unrelenting and unmitigated cruelty; year by year countless multitudes are torn from all that they hold dear in life, to pass their days in toil and misery. Men are still to be found so hardened in heart, so bent upon the gain of oppression, and so devoid of all that we deem the common feelings of humanity, as to spend their time and talents in pursuit of this criminal commerce. We forbear to enter in detail upon the large variety of human suffering, inseparable from this complicated iniquity. But we trust we do not take too much upon ourselves, in asking those whom we now address, to open their ears to the groaning of the oppressed, and to give themselves to sympathy with their sufferings; to think upon the war, the rapine, and bloodshed, attendant upon the capture of slaves in the interior of Africa—upon what they are made to endure in their transit to the coast and in their passage across the ocean; and not to shrink from making themselves acquainted with the horrors and loathsomeness of the Slave-ship, to follow the poor, helpless, unoffending Negro, if he survive the suffering of the voyage, and to think upon his condition when landed upon a foreign shore, and entered upon a life of hard and hopeless servitude—it may be—to be worked to death in his early manhood, or to live to behold his children subjected to the same degradation and oppression as himself.

Blessed is the man that considereth the poor. The blessing of the Lord resteth upon him, who, knowing the evil which attends his neighbor's lot in life, is stretching forth his hand for the relief of his poverty and distress, and his blessing is upon those who, like the Patriarch of old, are inquiring into the sorrows and hardship of the poor, the fatherless, and those that have none to help them. "The cause which I knew not, I searched out."

Our sympathies are awakened, not for the native African alone, and the victims of the African Slave Trade, but we feel for those who are living and laboring in a state of Slavery, who were born in Slavery, and possibly may die subject to its privation and its hardships. In those countries in which this system is upheld by law, man is degraded to the condition of a beast of burthen, and regarded as an article of merchandise. The slave has nothing in life that he can call his own; his physical powers, the limbs of his body, belong to another; it can scarcely be said that the faculties of his mind are his own. All that distinguishes him as a rational creature is, by the law of the State, treated as the proper-

ty of another. He may be a man fearing God, and desiring to approve himself a disciple of Christ—we believe that there are such. Whatever the consistency of his character as a Christian, and however advanced in the cultivation of his mind, all avails him nothing, he is still a slave, and the law allows him nothing to look to in life but hopeless, helpless, friendless Slavery. Endowed by his Maker with capacity for enjoyment like other men, he has his social affections, he may be honorably married, and in married life surrounded by offspring dear to him as his own flesh; but he knows not the day nor the hour in which he may be torn from his wife, or in which his children, at their tender age, may be snatched away, sold to the man-trader, and carried into far distant captivity. So long as Slavery is upheld by law we can have no security for the extinction of a trade in slaves. Such are the contingencies of the system under every modification of which it is capable, that until slavery be abolished, men, women and children will, we fear, be imported from Africa, and be bought and sold like the cattle of the field, and the barbarities of the Slave-market will continue to pollute the towns and villages of those islands in the West Indies in which Slavery exists, and in the Slave-holding countries of America.

The subject is so vast and of such manifold atrocity, we think, that even the history of the whole world does not furnish a parallel to its crime. We deem it scarcely possible for a man of the most comprehensive mind fully to possess himself of the extent of the evil. The Lord alone doth know: none but the Infinite Mind can comprehend the individual and the aggregate sufferings of those subjected to these enormities. God alone can reach the heart and awaken the conscience. It is our strong desire,—we speak with reverence and fear,—it is our prayer, that He may bring every one to a sense of his own share in the guilt, and that, ceasing from his iniquity, the condemnation resting upon the man-stealer, and upon those who trade in the persons of men, may no longer attach itself to any one bearing the name of Christian; and that the Slave-holder, whether he be more or less involved in the sin of oppression, may be brought to act in obedience to the law of impartial and uncompromising equity, and, without hesitation and without delay, restore to immediate and unconditional freedom every slave he holds in bondage.

The Gospel of Christ is precious to us. Through the mercy of God to our souls we trust we are prepared in some degree, to appreciate the means which, in his wisdom and love, He has provided for the redemption of the world, and the reconciling of man to Himself. In the word of ancient prophecy, Christ was promised that in Him all the families of the earth might be blessed. We cannot but entertain the opinion that the enlightenment of multitudes of the inhabitants of Africa, and their participation in the privileges and

the consolation of the Christian Religion, have been much retarded by the evil deeds of many who have gone among them; and especially that the cruelty and wickedness of the Slave-Trade have done much to keep them in ignorance of Him who died for them. In that love which extends over sea and land, and seeks the happiness of the whole human race, we make our appeal to those with whom it lies, and respectfully press upon them to take their part, in accordance with the peaceable religion of Christ, in removing every impediment out of the way, that, through the grace of God, the African, of every tribe and every tongue, may be brought to the knowledge of the truth as it is in Jesus.

May it please the Lord Almighty to bless those who reign, and those who are in authority, in every nation in which Christianity is acknowledged. May his wisdom preside in all their councils, and the law of his righteousness be the rule of their actions. May the Prince of Peace, Christ Jesus our Saviour, be honored wherever his name is known. May his holy religion obtain its rightful influence in the earth, and the people become prepared to offer praise to God in the language uttered by the Heavenly Host—"Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good will towards men."

Signed in and on behalf of the Meeting.

GEORGE STACEY,

Clerk to the Meeting this year.

From Burritt's Bond of Brotherhood.
THE CHRISTIAN BRAVE.

(Continued from page 85.)

It was impossible that labours so devoted and successful should pass without observation and remark, especially in a country where spiritual light and knowledge are regarded as the greatest elements of danger to the powers that be. The Papal authorities were speedily in possession of the alarming fact, that a simple-hearted Christian man, without ecclesiastical authority, without fee or reward, influenced solely by the love which he bore for the ignorant and the perishing, was at work in their city; that he was gladly and gratefully welcomed by those among whom he labored; and that many were beginning to inquire the way of salvation.

The alarm of the Leghorn judicials and priests, and their difficulty in dealing with this dangerous innovator, would have been greatly mitigated, if the weapons of his spiritual warfare had been those of ordinary mould and temper. Had he laboured to detach men as sedulously from creeds as from sin; had he included Satan and the Pope in the same breath of denunciation; had he evinced an aggressive determination to make men proselytes, instead of simply inviting them to become Christians, he would easily have been disposed of as a violator of the law, and might have caused no greater trouble, perhaps, than a consular remonstrance, and an

early removal from the country. The heavenly armour however, in which he went about "*doing good*," left him invulnerable in the midst of enemies who watched with ceaseless vigilance his every movement, but sought in vain an occasion of offence against "the meek and quiet spirit" of the Christian Brave.

True, they confined his operations almost exclusively to the shipping in the port; drawing around the quays and wharves of Leghorn a cordon of police inspection, which never permitted him to enter the dwelling of a Invenese without the company of a priest or a policeman. Although he continued thus strictly watched during his stay in the city, no complaint could be fastened upon him either by the civil or ecclesiastical authorities. They were not ignorant of the influence he succeeded in establishing over the minds of the sailors, but their authority did not extend to the decks of English and American vessels, and they were obliged to content themselves with damming off from the minds of their own countrymen any possible streamlet of truth that might flow to them through the lips of an apostolic stranger.

The time at length arrived when our friend felt that his long-cherished prospect of visiting Rome must be carried into effect, and the parting scene on board the little schooner which had borne him to the shores of Italy, was one of deep and touching interest. At his request, the Captain assembled all the crew, with his own family, in the cabin, where their beloved guest read to them the twentieth chapter of the Acts, and when he came to the three concluding verses all hearts were melted; and the language which so vividly portrays the separation of Paul from his friends, became precisely descriptive of what took place, for "*when he had thus spoken, he kneeled down, and prayed with them all. And they all wept sore, sorrowing most of all for the words which he spake, that they should see his face no more.*"

And now, his services in Leghorn closed, his last friendly words of Christian sympathy exchanged, the last farewell uttered, he set out on his solitary way, among a people with whose language he was yet unfamiliar, and whose habits, prejudices, and principles were all strange to him. We may well conceive the sense of utter loneliness which would at times steal over his soul, and which would assuredly have daunted any heart less truly brave, or less reliant upon that "*perfect love which casteth out fear*;" and with what emotion must he have gazed, for the first time, from some mountain path, upon the seven hilled city, towards which his loving, yearning sympathies had been so long directed. Here was the great seat and centre of that spiritual darkness and corruption over whose unhappy fruits he had so long mourned. The ignorance, the superstition, the prostration of the Roman people, with all their physical suffering

and social degradation, he was now to encounter face to face; and he had come from his transatlantic home with the hope and purpose that a way might be opened up for him to introduce, if it might be but a ray of pure simple Gospel truth and love, among those whom he longed to enlighten and to cheer.

How often had the streets of imperial Rome witnessed the entry of brave men—the mightiest conquerors on the page of history—when, amid the tumult of popular applause, they came bearing with them the triumphs and spoils of Roman victory; but never had the Coliseum and the Capitol looked down upon a truer hero than the pilgrim stranger whose feet now trod the ways where once walked the Cæsars. He was not insensible to the difficulty and danger of his task; he knew that the authorities of Rome had been advised of his coming, and would be little disposed to tolerate his mission; but he came willing to risk all in the service of the Master whom he loved.

He was not left long in suspense as to the light in which his character was viewed. He was at once placed under the strictest surveillance of the police, and was never allowed to quit his lodging without having a soldier or a priest at his elbow. He remained for more than a month a sort of prisoner at large; his patience and gentleness preserving him from giving any occasion of arrest, but an effectual barrier being put to his contemplated sphere of labor. Finding that it was hopeless to attempt any direct access to the minds of the Italian people, it occurred to him that he might, perhaps, indirectly scatter the seeds of truth, by stationing himself at some port, under British rule, where he could visit and talk with Italian sailors; and for this purpose he found that the island of Malta was peculiarly adapted, the intercourse between Valetta and the various Italian ports being more frequent than any other station in the Mediterranean. To Malta accordingly he repaired, leaving behind him the following characteristic note, addressed to the tribunal of Roman police; a document which, for its honesty and fearlessness, has probably few parallels in archives of that body:—

“To the Roman Police.”

“Sirs,—I have now been in Rome forty days, and I have not spoken to the people, nor troubled any one. The people have been civil and kind, therefore the blessing of the Lord is with the people; but the priests, police, and soldiers have annoyed me much from day to day. Your priests are proselyting in the United States with perfect freedom, yet I have not done so here; and why do you imagine evil against me? Let him that is without sin first cast a stone. You may say, our craft is in danger, and great is Diana of the Ephesians; but I say, God is greater, and there is one God, and one Mediator be-

tween God and men—the man Christ Jesus; and other foundation can no man lay than that is laid. Verily, there is a fault among you that there are so many beggars in the streets. Let them be taken out of the streets, and let work be provided for them—there are uncultivated lands enough for them all; and break off your sins by showing mercy to the poor; and the priests, to avoid fornication, let them marry. To the soldiers I say, do violence to no man, and follow peace with all men, and holiness, without which no man shall see the Lord. The kingdom of Christ consists in righteousness, peace, and true holiness, not a wicked soldiery to defend it. Your trust should be in God, and not in soldiers and ceremonies. My prayer to God for you is, that you may look to God for grace to guide you in all your affairs; that the blessing of God may be with you, and God be glorified in you.

“My best wishes to you, and much love to the people. A. ROBERTS.”

We had requested our friend when he left London to write to us occasionally, that we might know how he was prospering. He told us that he was no great penman, and could not promise much in that way. However, he found time to write us a few lines from Malta, so characteristic of the man, that we append them to this short narrative, merely adding, that intelligence has reached us, through a mutual friend, that Mr. Robert's services in Malta were eminently valuable and successful. He became endeared to many Christian people there, and so highly were his services among the sailors appreciated by some of the leading merchants, that very liberal offers were made to him to settle down as a sailors' missionary for the port.—Every offer, however, of remuneration was respectfully declined. He felt that having freely received of the grace of God, freely he must impart it; and he continued, therefore, a voluntary in his Saviour's service. After some months' active labour, he resolved to visit Constantinople, believing that the Lord would have work for him to do among the scenes of suffering and violence incident upon the outbreak of war. Our last accounts left him at Constantinople, and we can readily imagine that among the dead and dying, on the battle-field, in the camp, the hospital, and the bivouac, those hands will minister to the wants of the wounded, and that voice will whisper hope and consolation to many who may be led to cry, in the agony of impending death, “What must I do to be saved?”

May He who was with Peter in his dungeon, and with Paul in all his journeyings, direct the path and prosper the work of the *Christian Brave*. E. F.

“Malta, May 23d, 1853.

“Dear Friend,—To you grace, mercy, and peace be multiplied. When I left you I promised

you nothing, so if I send you only a few words you will not be much disappointed. I had a very good passage to Leghorn, and found Captain Fishwick a warm-hearted Christian. I remained on board his vessel nearly two months after our arrival at Leghorn, employing my time in distributing the Scriptures and tracts amongst English and American seamen, and visiting the sick at the hospital. A goodly number became abstainers from the use of intoxicating drinks, and some began to pray. Here I was closely watched by the police, while drunkards could go with liberty.

"I arrived at Rome on the 21st of December. Here also I was beset on all sides by priests and police, but I let them alone forty days, and then asked for my passport, and wrote a letter to the police, stating to them the treatment which I had received. A copy of the letter I send you. Popery is cruel, and its days are numbered.— Since my arrival at Malta, I have been engaged in distributing the Scriptures amongst Italian seamen; I find no people more ready to receive the Word than they.

"The blessing of God has attended me; goodness and mercy have followed me. My wants have been supplied. I do not forget the kindness of those friends that helped me in England. I thank God, through our Lord Jesus Christ, for all his mercies; and why was this grace given to me in such abundance? To God be all the glory, Amen.

"A. R."

From Burritt's Bond of Brotherhood.

A SLAVE MOTHER.

Slavery has no line of limitation in North America, except the St. Lawrence. It goes wheresoever it listeth, with its sleuth-hounds and its shackles. The slave-mother, with her child folded to her breast, threaded the dismal swamps, where the snakes hissed at her, as she came near the nests where their slimy young lay coiled; and where the tangled bushes tore her flesh; and she toiled through the mazes of the forest, where the cougar glared at her as she passed, till at last she reached the town of Ripley, on the borders of Lake Erie. But the town of Ripley offered her neither rest nor refuge.— The hunters of her race were close upon her, and they seized her on the very brink of the water which lay between her and Canadian shore. The Roman father saved his daughter from slavery (which comprehends every imaginable outrage to womanhood) by slaying her; this American mother, raised above herself by her maternal instincts, no sooner found herself a slave again, than she threw her infant on the ground and refused to own it. When taken before a magistrate, and presented with her babe, she shut her eyes and turned away her head from it. "That is not my child," she exclaimed, "I have no child; that child belongs to freedom, not to me."

"And to whom do you belong?" said the magistrate, his lips trembling with emotion as he spoke.

"To me," said one of the captors; "she belongs to me."

"Where is your title to her?" said the Northern justice sternly.

The slaveholder fumbled in his pockets, and in his *portemonnaie*, but could find no record of his ownership and the girl's bondage. "Let the woman go," said the magistrate. "Who dares to hold her here without a warrant?"

With a scream of delight the young mother sprang towards her child, and laid it once more on her bosom. With a wild shout of triumph, the stout boatmen of Ripley carried her and her child to the lake, and four stout rowers bent to their oars with right good will, and sent the impatient shallop over the water to Canada. The baffled slaveholders begged, threatened, and offered bribes of gold to the men on shore, if they would unmoor their skiffs and carry them in pursuit; but the seamen whistled in their faces and smiled, and stoutly refused to touch either helm or oar. The heroic slave-mother was saved.

If I could write an epic, like some of the bards of old, I would not choose a soldier for my hero, I would glorify my song with the deeds of this great-souled mother, who preferred to make her maternal breast desolate rather than allow her child to become a slave.

J. B. S.

AN OLIVE LEAF FOR THE PEOPLE.

BY ELIHU BURRITT.

The Safety of Arbitration.—Perhaps you plead the uncertainties of arbitration. But are these to be compared with the evils inseparable from war? Is the latter more certain in its results than the former? Should you draw the sword, can you after all be sure of gaining your point? Well does an able writer say, "We can scarcely anticipate any future national difference which it would not be more safe and prudent to submit to arbitration than to the chances of war. However just may be our cause, however united our people, we cannot foresee the issue of the conflict, nor tell what new enemies we may be called to encounter, what sacrifices to bear, what concessions to make." But do you doubt whether such pledges of mutual reference would be kept by nations? "It is readily admitted," says a worthy son of the immortal Jay, "that if the only guarantee for their faithful performance consisted in the virtue and integrity of statesmen and politicians, the confidence to be reposed in them would be but faint. Happily, however, we have a far stronger guarantee in national interest, and in public opinion. Every Government that felt disposed to violate such a treaty, would be conscious that, by doing so, it would be sacrificing substantial interests for precarious advantages, exchanging the blessings of contin-

ued peace for the hazards and calamities of war. It would, indeed, require some very powerful temptation to induce a people to forego the peace, security, and exemptions from military burdens, conferred by such a treaty. Public opinion, moreover, would unite with self-interest in preserving these treaties inviolate. A Government, who for the purpose of avoiding war had pledged its faith to abide by the award of umpires, would, by going to war in defiance of that award, and in palpable violation of its solemn engagements, shock the moral sense of mankind, and would probably disgust even its own subjects. At the present day, all Governments are more or less controlled by public opinion; and the progress of education, and the power of the press enable every individual to sit in judgment on the conduct of his rulers. Such a war would be odious, because it would be felt by all to be unjust and dishonorable. It would also be reprobated by the umpires whose decisions would thus be condemned, and by every nation which had entered into a similar treaty. It ought, also, to be remembered, that each new treaty would tend to secure the observance of all the preceding ones, as each nation would feel that the value of its own treaty would greatly depend on the faithful performance of all the others; since, if one were violated with impunity, the power of the others to preserve peace would necessarily be weakened.

AN IMPORTANT CAUTION.

The close connection and intimate intercourse which are maintained between the different sections of our common country, may, unless we are very watchful, blunt our sensibilities to the cruelties of slavery, and diminish our abhorrence of its injustice.—*Minute of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of Friends.*

THE NON-SLAVEHOLDER.

PHILADELPHIA, ELEVENTH MONTH, 25, 1854.

VALUABLE TESTIMONY.—The American Bible Society have issued a work entitled "Testimony of Distinguished Laymen to the Value of the Sacred Scriptures," containing the opinions of such men as Grotius, Newton, Erskine, Clay, Webster, Everett, Silliman, and others.—*Ledger.*

In our view, the practical evidence given by the sincere life of one converted soul, is a far more valuable testimony to the value of the Holy Scriptures, and the wondrous mercy of Him of whom they testify, than the "opinions" of a host of great men, who, like Clay and Webster, denied in their deeds the truths to which their lips and their intellects assented. God does not need such witnesses to vindicate his name, and, if they be summoned, they should not be ranged with Christians such as Newton, Grotius, and Silliman, whose pious sayings are worthy to be preserved as "apples of gold in baskets of silver," but rather with that man who in the Capernaum Synagogue confessed per-force "I know thee

who thou art—the Holy One of God!" Such confession must eventually be uttered by every soul in the Universe, and the record may serve a purpose,—but our Lord plants a better testimony in the heart and in the mouth of the simple and unlearned, but sincere and obedient Christian. Again and again, when we have heard the "opinions" of the Marshfield propagandist of a policy which he knew to be unholy adduced as important auxiliaries to the pure doctrines of the blessed Redeemer, we have recurred to the spectacle we once beheld, of a poor, aged, unlettered, blind negro, who, being asked to describe the gift of Divine Grace, turned upwards his sightless orbs, and, with an extatic delight, exclaimed, or rather shouted, "Oh sir, its unspeakable and full of glory—it lightens all de mind widin!"—

We would not derogate from the just fame of Daniel Webster. His mighty intellect, (no merit of his own but a God given endowment,) has scarcely been surpassed among men. But for the verity of Christian truth we want a better evidence than that of a perverted understanding which *may be right upon that point*,—and, thanks be to God for his unspeakable gift, he has not left us without a far more conclusive witness. "The Word is very nigh thee, even in thy heart and in thy mouth." Every one who will come to Jesus Christ in faith, may have a testimony in himself, accordant with that of Holy Scripture and of all converted souls, and will not need, for the expounding of the saints' faith, the "opinions" of compromising Lawyers and Statesmen who have converted the free North into a human hunting ground. "He that loveth not his brother whom he hath seen, how can he love God whom he hath not seen?"—We have not seen the book referred to, but the above announcement suggests the query,—Why is the testimony of such men in this case of value?—Because of their great talents?—What then shall we do with the "opinions" of equally great men, whose theology was more defective, but whose lives were truer?—Is it not unwise and unsafe to plead the "opinions" of "distinguished laymen" to prove the value of that Book which bears to the sincere soul its own evidence, the Spirit of its glorious Author co-operating with the written word to make the reader wise unto salvation. We believe the sacred volume, *not because of the testimony of Clay and Webster, but notwithstanding their "opinions."*

FAITH SHEWN BY WORKS.—Henry G. Chapman, a Boston Merchant who died in 1842, at the age of 38, lived long enough upon Earth to leave an example worth more to posterity than munificent subscriptions to popular charities.—At the cost of offence to his College companions, he refrained from wine for conscience sake when such abstinence was singular. He avowed himself an anti-slavery man in the days which tried

mens' souls, at the cost of loss of fashionable friendships, and, subsequently, of persecution. When the *gentlemen's mob* was organized in 1835, a brother merchant threatened to advise his Southern customers that he, [Chapman] was foremost among the fanatics. "I thank you," said he, "for your friendly intentions, but your intimations of loss of business come too late to be of use to me. *One of the first things I did when I became an Abolitionist, was to give up my trade in cotton.*"

"Men of clean hands" are the fitting agents of moral reformation, the appropriate advocates of the right and true. When the understanding is clear and the heart is right, *causes* will be followed by legitimate *effects*.—The early convert to the true faith would say, "*I am a Christian, and therefore I cannot fight*"—and no one questioned his logic. Henry G. Chapman was an abolitionist, and *therefore* he could not trade in slave grown Cotton. This moral hero has left the busy haunts in which his form was once

"A common sight to every common eye,"

but his name must not be forgotten—it should be cherished as that of one who by the faithfulness of his conduct "set to his seal that God is true."

"He is dead, but his memory still liveth—

He is gone, his example is here—

And the lustre and fragrance it giveth

Shall linger for many a year."

NON-PARTICIPANCY.—We do not remember to have heard the abstraction denied,

"That whoso gives the motive, makes
His brother's sin his own,"

but we often hear doubts of the force and value of the testimony against slavery borne by a non-use of its products. Had every merchant of the single city of Boston who aspired to the character of an upright man, declined, simultaneously with Chapman, to trade in slave-grown cotton, and adopted in practice the principle of our motto, Slavery would ere this day have shrunk into a diminished territory, instead of extending her area. The voice of Massachusetts would have spoken in clearer and stronger tones against oppression. Webster, the creature of the merchants, would have given his influence persistently for Freedom. The abominable falsity embodied in the Fugitive Bill would never have been uttered, nor the Nebraska-Kansas iniquity conceived.

Had all earnest Anti-Slavery people, from 1835, when Chapman made his noble stand, to this day, abstained as far as practicable from giving the motive to the Slaveholder through the cotton merchants, yankee enterprise would long ago have supplied the market abundantly with Free grown cotton, at a price not greater than that of the tainted article. Another most desirable result would have ensued, worth much more than all the quarrelling of Abolitionists

with one another. In Mississippi, Tennessee, Alabama, Texas, Arkansas, and doubtless in other States, an impetus would have been given to the culture of cotton by free hands,—and those who now raise it thus, would have greatly increased in number and in importance as regards their home influence. *The many* have great faith in Byron's assertion that "cash is a virtue," and as these persons amassed wealth they would have gained social and political influence, and perhaps by this time have outvoted in some neighborhoods the slave interest. The actual holders of slaves are very far from being the entire south. Let the Non-Slaveholders of Southern States harmonize with one another, and aim for the right, and results would soon be apparent. By the course above indicated we might have planted a testimony in the South, which in time could not fail to leaven the whole lump. It would have been a peaceable testimony. What State would close her ports against us when we went, money in hand to purchase her cotton? No planter could find fault with us, for purchasing of the producer who offered us the best inducements. Most especially we should have convinced Slaveholders of our sincerity, and by doing so we should have set thousands of them upon a train of wholesome thinking.

BURRITT'S CITIZEN OF THE WORLD.

We trust that our friends are already obtaining subscribers for this desirable Journal. The terms are—for one copy 50 cents.

For eight copies, \$3.00

"fifteen copies, 5.00, invariably in advance. Names and payments should be promptly sent to our friend George W. Taylor, Box 777, Philadelphia. See prospectus on the last page of this number.

We have given some valuable extracts from Burritt's Bond of Brotherhood, that our readers may form an estimate of the quality of the mental food which the Editor will be likely to present in the new Journal, which we are anxious to see established on a permanent basis.

THE CHRISTIAN BRAVE.—We wish all our friends to peruse this instructive and interesting article which is brought to a conclusion in the present number. Although the narrative is not directly connected with the Free Produce movement, we do not see how any sincere person can read it without being made a better abolitionist, a better Philanthropist, and stimulated to be a more faithful Christian. It conveys the lesson so needed by us all to be faithful, and to walk by faith. It instills the Abrahamic example of *believing God*. It is fraught with the spirit of Saul of Tarsus, who "counted not his own life dear unto himself, so that he might finish his course with joy and the ministry which he had received of the Lord Jesus to testify the gospel of the

grace of God." We would gladly trace the subsequent career of Roberts, and we hope that when Elihu Burritt comes he will be able to tell us more about him in the *Citizen of the World*.

WILLIAM FORSTER.—As so much space is devoted this month to the excellent address to Sovereigns, &c., of which he was the bearer, we must defer to next number the conclusion of our Editorial memoir.

COMMISSIONER INGRAHAM.—"Tread lightly on the ashes of the dead"—is good poetry and a good sentiment, which we never without sadness depart from. Of this individual we had no personal knowledge, nor are we advised of the state of mind in which he met the pale commissioner who delivered him over to the Judge of all the Earth—that Judge to whom belonged by right of ransom, every negro whom Ingraham adjudged to be the property of southern men—that Judge who, that he might proclaim liberty to the captive, himself assumed a servant's form, and suffered ignominious death for all men, bond and free. We cannot read with complacency, newspaper eulogiums upon one who willingly lent himself to the vilest service that ever an unlawful law exacted from its tools. May God pardon and save him! We judge him not.

"Mercy is for the merciful—if thou
Hast been of such, 'twill be accorded now."

And yet we should think that no man could succeed him in his office, without shuddering at the reflection that its hateful functions had been performed before by one who has been summoned to give an account to Him who regards as *done unto Himself*, every act of cruelty or of mercy.

When such a life is brought to a close, it is to the interest of mankind, that a truthful lesson should be deduced, and that every survivor should make haste to cleanse himself from iniquity, that, whether he attain to a better hope or not, he may at least leave behind him a fairer fame.

HARD-HEARTEDNESS OF ANTI-SLAVERY FOLK.—The Southern Editors might well say to the Abolitionists—"We have mourned unto you and ye have not lamented." A South Carolina paper, the *Charleston Times*, thus wails over the wild grapes of the Nebraska vine,—and lo—the Anti-Slavery Journals, instead of lamenting in concert, published it with every appearance of cheerful content.

"There never was a completer, more disastrous miscarriage than the Nebraska bill. It has not only blasted every expectation that was originally formed of it, but has proved to its authors a positive and unmitigated curse. Instead of strengthening the harmony of the country it has given rise to the intensest resentment and discord.—Instead of giving effect and confirmation to the compromise of 1850, it has blasted that compromise into nothingness. Instead of securing two additional Slave States to the Union, it has secured two additional free States. And instead of putting an end to the free soil doctrine, it has given that doctrine a power and a respectability which it

never possessed before, and which, we believe, it could never have attained through any other medium than that opened by this bill."

This is almost as cruel as the conduct of Whittier, who, when Joseph Mead of Leesburg, Loudon County, Virginia, was in sore tribulation about the loco-motive proclivities of seven chattels personal, appraised at nearly \$3,000,—coolly sent him word:—

"We are happy to have it in our power to offer some consolation to the bereaved gentleman. We saw a family which answered very well to his graphic description, a short time since, in this city. They were just preparing to make the fashionable tour of the Canadas, and they did not seem to realize, in the slightest degree, the fact that they were 'running away from happiness.' It will be gratifying to their late 'owner' to learn that they were furnished, in this city, with a good store of warm clothing for their Northern journey; and that they really seemed as happy a family as ever were gathered under a hospitable roof."

A SIGNIFICANT REBUKE.—Myron H. Clark, the Temperance champion in the last legislature of N. York, drafted the Prohibitory Bill which was passed by both houses, but vetoed by Gov. Seymore. The people took the conduct of these two persons into consideration and elected the former to fill the gubernatorial chair, of which the latter had shown himself to be unworthy. Tell Horatio Seymore that "Honesty is the best policy," but that a sensible yankee woman says, "It takes an honest man to find it out."

BURRITT'S CITIZEN OF THE WORLD.

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THE NON-SLAVEHOLDER.

"Whoso gives the motive, makes his brother's sin his own."

VOL. II.—NEW SERIES.] PHILADELPHIA, TWELFTH MONTH, 1854.

[No. 12.]

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The first number of the *The Citizen of the World* has come to hand, and fully answers our expectation. It is *got up* with the neatness and taste which characterize the Publisher, and of the contents, it is high praise to say that they are worthy of the gifted Editor. We make the following extract.—Ed.

THE FREE LABOR MOVEMENT.—If our life be spared, we intend to devote a considerable portion of our time and strength hereafter to this important department of anti-slavery effort. Perhaps many of our readers will have been made acquainted, before these lines reach them, of the plan of offering a series of *premiums* for the largest quantities of cotton grown by *Free Labor* in the United States. The more we dwell upon the operation of this stimulus, the more fully we are convinced that it will take effect

sensibly this very year, upon many a cotton grower in the Southern States. Perhaps the important problem may be solved next summer whether or not cotton can be grown profitably by *hired* free labor. Although, perhaps, 50,000 bales are annually produced by *free*, we are not sure that one is grown by *hired* labor; as those who thus cultivate it are generally very poor, and employ in its production only the hands which their own respective families can muster. Now it will be a very important result, if the premiums proposed induce even one person of more competent means to *hire* three or four white or free colored men to assist him and his family in growing, say, 25 bales the first year on his farm. If his balance sheet shall show a satisfactory profit on their labor, in producing this quantity, great gain to the cause will be won; which cannot fail to excite much interest in this system of agriculture. The second year's trial must be more successful still, if a greater number of persons should be encouraged to enter upon the cultivation of cotton in this way. Perhaps the first premium of \$500 for 50 bales will be carried off this very year by the Germans in Texas. They are flocking into that state very rapidly, and many of them are already engaged in growing cotton by *free* labor. If the Germans can live and labor comfortably in Texas, they may do the same in Georgia, Alabama, or Mississippi. Emigrants from different parts of Europe are finding their way into all the slave States, and who can tell how many of them may be induced to adopt cotton growing on this system by the stimulus proposed? We hope, also, that the merchants, manufacturers and philanthropists of England will adopt a similar method, and offer a series of generous premiums for the largest quantities of cotton grown in any of the British Colonies in Asia, Africa, America, and Australia. We have prepared a paper upon this proposition, and have applied for permission to read it before the Manchester Chamber of Commerce. We are now awaiting their answer, but if they do not adopt the plan, we intend to press it upon the consideration of other parties, and believe it may be carried into effect simultaneously with that in the United States. It would be a capital thing to raise the flag of *Free Labor* at once, over every acre of that cotton growing belt of territory that surrounds the globe. This will be done, if this *premium* system be,

adopted simultaneously in Great Britain and the United States. In our next number, we hope to be able to state something definite, which shall be very encouraging to all our readers. As another instrumentality for making an interest in behalf of this cause, we have undertaken to edit "*The Slave*," a little monthly sheet, which has been hitherto conducted by Mr. and Mrs. Henry Richardson, of Newcastle-on-Tyne, with great ability. It will hereafter be issued from the Free Labor Cotton Depot, in London, and we intend to make a vigorous effort to extend its circulation, which is now about 3000 copies. "*The Bond of Brotherhood*," which we have edited for more than eight years in England, has a circulation of about 4,500, and in every number we bring the Free Labor question before a large circle of readers. With these various instrumentalities and operations, we hope much progress may be made in the cause, on both sides of the Atlantic, during the present year.—*Citizen of the World*.

A NON-PARTICIPANT SONNET.

BY SOUTHEY—A. D. 1795.

Oh, he is worn with toil! the big drops run
Down his dark cheek; hold—hold thy merciless hand,
Pale tyrant! for beneath thy hard command
O'erwearied nature sinks. The scorching sun,
As pitiless as proud Prosperity,
Darts on him his full beams; gasping he lies
Arraigning with his looks the patient skies,
While that inhuman driver lifts on high
The mangling scourge. O ye who at your ease
Sip the blood-sweeten'd beverage, thoughts like these
Haply ye scorn: I thank thee, gracious God,
That I do feel upon my cheek the glow
Of indignation, when beneath the rod
A sable brother writhes in silent woe.

From the National Era.

TO CHARLES SUMNER.

BY JOHN GREENLEAF WHITTIER.

If I have seemed more prompt to censure wrong
Than praise the right; if, seldom to thine ear
My voice hath mingled with th' exultant cheer,
Borne upon all our Northern winds along;
If I have failed to join the fickle throng
In wide-eyed wonder, that thou standest strong
In victory, surprised in time to find
Brougham's scathing power with Canning's grace combined;
That he for whom the ninefold Muses sang,
From their twined arms a giant athlete sprang,
Barbing the arrows of his native tongue
With the spent shafts Latona's archer flung,
To smite the Python of his land and time,
Fell as the monster born of Crissa's slime,
Like the blind bard who in Castilian springs
Tempered the steel that clove the crest of kings,
And on the shrine of England's freedom laid
The gifts of Cumæ and of Delphi's shade—
Small need hast thou of words of praise from me,
Thou knowest my heart, dear friend, and well canst
guess
That, even though silent, I have not the less
Rejoiced to see thy actual life agree
With the large future which I shaped for thee,
When, years ago, beside the summer sea,
White in the moon, we saw the long waves fall
Battled and broken from the rocky wall,
That, to the menace of the brawling flood,
Opposed alone its massive quietude,
Calm as a fate; with not a leaf nor vine
Nor birch spray trembling in the still moonshine,

Crowning it like God's peace. I sometimes think
That night scene by the sea prophetic—
(For nature speaks in symbols and in signs,
And through her pictures human fate divines)—
That rock wherefrom we saw the billows sink
In murmuring rout, uprising clear and tall
In the white light of heaven, the type of one
Who momentarily by Error's host assailed,
Stands strong as Truth, in graves of granite mailed;
And, tranquil-fronted, listening over all
The tumult, hears the angels say, Well done!
11th month, 25th, 1854.

THINK OF THE SLAVE

BY E. M. CHANDLER.

Think of the slave, in your hours of glee,
Ye who are treading life's flowery way;
Nought but its rankling thorns has he,
Nought but the gloom of its wintry day.

Think of the slave, in your hours of woe!—
What are your sorrows, to that he hears?
Quenching the light of his bosom's glow,
With a life-long stain of gushing tears.

Think of the slave, in your hours of prayer,
When worldly thoughts in your hearts are dim,
Offer your thanks for the bliss ye share,
But pray for a brighter lot for him.

THE NON-SLAVEHOLDER.

PHILADELPHIA, TWELFTH MONTH, 25, 1854.

In giving to the Printer the manuscripts for the present number, we relinquish our Editorial duties, which we assumed two years ago at the request of valued friends, and which we have performed in addition to cares and engrossments which were more than sufficient to occupy our time. We relinquish them with a sense of relief, which deepens into glad satisfaction in the prospect that the great object of our Journal will still be attended to, and that by a much abler hand, and under circumstances which will admit of far greater efficiency.

"We need,"—says Professor Henry, "a class of men, whose lives and powers shall be exclusively given to exploring the higher spheres of knowledge, opening new sources of Truth and Beauty, increasing the amount, and extending the domain of Science. We need an order of men who may be free to leave the mists and the vapors that settle upon the low grounds of the Earth, and getting themselves up into the mountain tops, may dwell there in a serene and lofty seclusion, alike from the goading of life's cares, and from the feverish stir and strife of its coarse and beggarly elements, and in the clear air beholding with pure and tranquil heart 'the bright countenance of Truth,' may catch and reflect its divine spirit to all times."

To a man of such an order, and withal to a large hearted lover of mankind, we wish to introduce all our subscribers and all our readers, in the Editor of the *Citizen of the World*. We have no fear of the contrast between the two periodicals, which our readers will make. It is because we expect it to be greatly superior to our own paper, that we are anxious to commend it to the attention and to the patronage of all whom

we can influence. We have no personal ends whatever to serve by aiding its circulation. Yet there is no object which we have so much at heart, in preparing our final issue, as this one—to invite every one to subscribe for, to pay for, to read and to circulate, Elihu Burritt's *Citizen of the World*, the prospectus of which will be found at the beginning of this number. We invite persons to become volunteer agents for it *as a labor of love*—to subscribe, if they are able, for copies at club prices, and give them away—to procure the insertion in local newspapers of *accredited* extracts from it, and thus aid in diffusing its benefits, and in bringing it prominently into notice.

It is perhaps right to say, that we do not make this request at the instigation, or with the knowledge either of E. Burritt or of his publisher, but from our own sense of right, and that each of our readers has as large a stake in the prosperity of the *Citizen* as we have.

WILLIAM FORSTER.

(Concluded.)

We gladly interrupt the regular course of the Memoir, to give place to the following letter.

THE LATE WILLIAM FORSTER.

To the Editor of the Non-Slaverholder.

Your Editorial Memoir of this distinguished person has interested me very much, and recalled to my mind my acquaintance with him in England, during the summer of 1843. In June, of that year, I was invited to accompany several anti-slavery friends, (W. F. being one of them) to Downing street, where, by previous appointment, they had an interview with Lord Aberdeen, then Secretary for the Home Department, and at present Prime Minister of England. After the delegation had despatched the business which occupied their minds, and as they were withdrawing, William Forster lingered behind. I remained with him, as we were to visit some other place together. In the most respectful and tender manner he solicited the attention of Lord A. to a few parting words. As nearly as I can recollect they were as follows:

"I cannot take leave of Lord Aberdeen without expressing the deep concern on my mind in relation to the responsible and arduous post he occupies, and the earnest desire I feel that he may so discharge its duties, and meet its responsibilities, as to retain a consciousness of having faithfully served his Sovereign and country, and meet the approving smile of that great Being before whom in the course of nature, he must soon appear, to give an account of the deeds done in the body. Lord Aberdeen needs not any assurance that it is my heart's desire and prayer to God, that his labors may be productive of great good, and that in the day of final account he may receive admission into the mansions prepared for those who love and serve the Lord."

During the delivery of these words, uttered with indelible pathos, the tears were coursing down the cheeks of William Forster, and Lord Aberdeen seemed to be deeply moved. At the conclusion, his Lordship took an affectionate leave of the good man. It was a scene I shall never forget.

LEWIS TAPPAN.

Brooklyn, N. Y., Dec. 24, 1854.

Our dear friend, William Forster, and his co-workers, after a good, but rough and stormy passage, arrived at Boston on sixth-day, the 15th of 9th month, 1853, where they were cordially received by a number of their brethren who had been appointed by the "Meetings for sufferings"

of the Yearly Meetings of New England and New York, to render this interesting delegation proper attention. Next day Josiah and William Forster went to the house of Dr. S. B. Tobey, at Providence, John Chandler and Wm. Holmes proceeding with our late beloved friend Mahlon Day, to N. Y. Wm. Forster feeling religiously drawn to attend a small meeting of Friends at Smithfield, (distant from Providence five miles) remarked,—“It is an early entrance on the little field of labor which I have long believed to be opened for me in this country, and I shall be thankful if it prove a good beginning.” He was accompanied thither by his host and by Robert I. Murray, the former of whom kindly writes us: “In the meeting he was instructively and sweetly engaged in the ministry. He spoke first of our condition as men—of our need of a Saviour, and of the glorious provision made for our redemption and salvation through Jesus Christ—setting forth, briefly, but very forcibly, the whole gospel plan. He then referred to those in former time, unto whom God had granted ‘their request, but sent leanness into their souls’—dwelling at length on the necessity of practical righteousness. In conclusion, he expressed to the little company that he believed it was right for him to have been with them,—feeling that there was a little *legacy* of love due from him to them. During the ride to and from meeting, he was very social and free in conversation. We talked upon various subjects connected with the interests of our religious Society, and especially upon the vital importance of sound faith, and that it should be expressed in sound words. * * * * *

“In the afternoon of First-day he was not able to attend meeting. In the evening many Friends came in to see him, and his conversation was animated and instructive. On Second day he left for New York, and we parted to meet no more on earth.”

After a brief tarryance in the City of New York, on the ensuing Third-day they arrived at Burlington, N. J., where many Friends who sincerely loved them, rejoiced to mingle in sympathy with them, to see their faces, to partake of their society, and to bid them God speed, on a mission of such dignity and moral beauty. The four days spent here, notwithstanding William Forster suffered from indisposition, were to him days of rest and renewing, and of sweet communion of spirit, not only with his beloved hostess, whose house he called his American home, but also with other disciples, between whom and himself christian fellowship and love had been long maintained, which only deepened and strengthened as years lapsed, as kindred spirits one by one went home to their “house not made with hands,” and as others who ran well for a while turned into devious ways and walked no more with them.

The next First-day, William Forster attended

Abington Meeting (Pa.) where his ministry is represented to have been most acceptable, and signally attended with the evidence of Divine anointing. On Third-day our friends reached Baltimore, and gave to the correspondents of that Yearly Meeting, a full presentation of the object of their mission, receiving from them christian unity and encouragement.

The great work was now fully entered upon, in faith, in love, in dedication, in christian meekness, yet christian boldness, and in the wisdom from above, which inspired the service, and which alone could profitably direct. Their brethren in religious profession sympathized with them, and were ready to aid them,—but, whilst they reciprocated the love which offered assistance, they rightly judged that they must go *alone* to the work which the Holy Spirit had assigned to them, and for which they had been set apart by the Church.

No ~~men~~ could better have discerned the line of conduct proper for them to pursue. They visited the Rulers of the land as Ambassadors for Christ, and their high sense of honor, the nice *intuition* which we often had occasion to admire in them, would not have permitted them to make these private interviews a matter of gossip, or even to detail them to their friends. If, in any case they were enabled to plant a good seed,—they could in faith leave it to the care of the good Husbandman who is able to give the increase. With such an example in view, it becomes not us to pry into the mode of their reception by the dignitaries whom they officially visited, nor to make any attempt to spread before our readers the substance of the conversations which ensued. Whatever detail it may be proper to publish, will, we trust, be given in due season, by those upon whose rightful province we have been careful not to encroach.

Their first visit was to President Pierce, on the 1st of 10th month. His reception of them was courteous, affable, and appreciative. He seemed at once to comprehend both their object and their motives, and so far from obstructing their way, he rather, as we believe, promoted their safe and comfortable procedure. The policy and language of Franklin Pierce on the Slavery question, as our readers are aware, meet our unqualified disapproval and condemnation. We are glad however, to acknowledge that his bearing to our beloved friends was such as became the Chief Magistrate of a great nation, and a gentleman. William Forster subsequently made a visit of religious sympathy to the President's wife, to which she afterward very feelingly alluded in conversation with our late dear friend Mahlon Day.

Leaving Washington, they entered upon a course of travel, the extent and laboriousness of which will not be readily appreciated by our transatlantic readers, even by those who trace their course upon the map. The magnitude of

the distances, the indirectness of many routes, the state of roads in new countries, and especially in the southern states, where the "peculiar institution" represses enterprise and stays improvement, must all be experienced to be understood. They visited the Governors of Virginia, Ohio, Kentucky, Indiana, and Illinois, all of whom acted towards them in a manner becoming gentlemen, and some of them with apparently Christian feeling. Our dear friends were permitted to read their address to them and to plead freely for the oppressed,—and the subject was discussed with candor and openness.—At Mount Pleasant, Ohio, they attended the First-day meeting of Friends, where William Forster preached Christ most impressively, dwelling solemnly upon the shortness and uncertainty of time. Again, in the evening, to a select circle, he spoke with heavenly unction, and in a similar manner to a large company the next day, so that it was remarked with much emphasis that "he seemed too ripe for heaven to stay long here."

At Cincinnati, which was made a point of divergence, a number of days were spent. By an arduous stage route they rode 84 miles to Frankfort, Ky., and thence by railway to Lexington, returning to Cincinnati, where, at a First-day meeting, he labored faithfully as a minister of Christ, being engaged to testify against a worldly spirit, in which some become so immersed that it clings to them to the end, the ultimate consequences of which were set forth in striking language. At this place they attended Monthly meeting, where the reading of William Forster's certificates was felt to be peculiarly solemn and touching. At Richmond, and at Bloomfield they attended the public meeting of Friends, and at both places his ministry was awakening and encouraging. At Springfield, Illinois, they had a most satisfactory religious meeting with the Portuguese Protestant Refugees from Madeira, a sincere minded people, about 120 of whom were in attendance, some of whom resided in Trinidad when our benevolent friend John Candler was there, four years previous to this time. After an interview with the Governor of Illinois at Joliet, who engaged to submit their memorial to the State Legislature, they visited the Gov. of Wisconsin at his private residence 7 miles north of Madison. He informed them that he had already urged upon the Legislature of his state the duty of petitioning Congress for the repeal of the Fugitive Slave Law. William Forster found it to be his duty to hold a public meeting for worship with the inhabitants of Madison city, for which purpose the use of the Congregational Meeting-House was kindly allowed. Reaching St. Louis about the middle of the eleventh month, they set out on a most toilsome journey, by land, of 136 miles, to Jefferson, in the centre of Missouri. The roads were bad, the stage-drivers were pro-

fane and drunken, and they met with many vicissitudes, till at length our beloved friend Wm. Forster became unable to proceed, and returned to St. Louis, accompanied by his faithful friend Wm. Holmes. Josiah Forster and John Candler went forward, had a lengthened interview with the Governor, and although their return to St. Louis was not accomplished without much fatigue, they had reason to rejoice in the retrospect, that they did not shrink from encountering difficulties in the way of duty.

From St. Louis they went down the Mississippi to BATON ROUGE, thence up the river to VICKSBURG, across the country to JACKSON, and by stage, a toilsome travel to MONTGOMERY, thence to MILLEDGEVILLE, and to COLOMBUS (S. C.) and thence a long journey, chiefly by railway, to NASHVILLE, having interviews successively with the Governors of Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, S. Carolina, and Tennessee. In each case they were kindly and respectfully received, and patiently attended to. Upon the veteran Apostle who is the subject of this notice, devolved the introducing of the mission, and the conducting of it for the most part rested with him, and the task was well performed. Words of ours could not convey any adequate sense of the tenderness and force of his pleadings.

After the interview with Gov. Johnson, at Nashville, our friends pursued their way to Lowden, towards the East end of Tennessee, and the new year opened upon them among friends of Lost Creek Quarterly Meeting. On First-day, the 8th of 1st month, 1854, they attended a small and recently settled meeting at Hickory Valley, and a larger one the next day at Friendsville, at both of which William Forster preached with tenderness and Christian love, to his own relief and very acceptably to the audiences. The meeting at Friendsville (Newberry Meeting) was indeed a memorable one, both as regards the eminent value of the testimony which he bore therein; and as being the last which he ever attended. A friend has furnished us with the following note of a verbal statement made by one of his audience on this deeply interesting occasion, and taken down from memory some time afterward:

"This last public testimony was at a meeting in Friendsville, Tennessee, wherein he was largely and solemnly engaged in proclaiming the unsearchable riches of Christ, a theme on which he had always delighted to dwell, and especially so when the shadows of evening were gathering around him. In his vivid description of the life of a dedicated Christian, it seemed as if he might have been involuntarily drawing a picture of himself—first, beautifully setting forth the fruits of early dedication, the blest results arising from a full surrender of the whole man, body, soul, and spirit, to the tendering, sanctifying power of Divine Grace, in the very morning of the day,

before the heart is seared and hardened by the cares of the world or the love of other things,—tracing the course of such, from one degree of religious attainment to another, gradually melting under the bright beams of the Son of Righteousness, till finally the ripe fruit is brought forth to perfection. In describing the winding up of the earthly course of the perfect man in Christ Jesus, and the crown of glory which awaited him, it seemed as if he almost opened heaven before us, and a little glimpse was given of those blessed realities which eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither hath it entered into the heart of man to conceive, but which God hath laid up in store for all those who love and serve Him. At the close of the meeting, he walked round the grave yard with a friend, spoke of its being pleasantly located, expressed his satisfaction in having been with Friends of that neighborhood, and said, *that* little meeting had been much upon his mind before he left England."

On the following day, the third of the week, they rode about 8 miles, to the Ferry-House of Samuel Lowe, a respectable farmer on the bank of the Holsten river, where they lodged, and next morning set off for Knoxville, on the way to Lost Creek meeting. William Forster was suffering much with pain in his side before starting, and the symptoms becoming aggravated, they returned to the house of their kind host. His disease was an attack of pleurisy from which he never recovered.

"During his illness he was remarkably calm and quiet, like one waiting for the coming of his Lord. On one occasion he observed, it would have been a comfort to him to have seen his beloved family again, 'but,' said he, 'it is better to depart and be with Christ.' A few days before the close, one of his companions proposed reading a portion of Pilgrim's Progress, to which he cheerfully assented, and repeated with touching emphasis the words of Hopeful, 'Be of good cheer, my brother; I feel the bottom, and it is good,' remarking he had often thought of *that*. On the ninth day, a state of unconsciousness came on, from which he never rallied, and having served his generation according to the will of God, this veteran in the army of the Lamb, sweetly and gently fell asleep in Jesus."

The funeral of our honored Friend took place on the ensuing First day, a large public meeting being held on the occasion at Friendsville, which was a time of unusual solemnity, and great sympathy was felt and evinced by the people of the vicinity.

William Forster, having expressed, some months before, a wish to have his friend Dr. Joseph W. Taylor, of Burlington, with him in case of his being ill, that Friend, on learning his critical situation hastened to join him. But although in a direct line the distance was only about 650 miles, such was the condition of the country that the speediest route of travel involved a journey of more than twice that extent, and

necessarily consumed 5 days and nights, and after an ineffectual attempt to cross the wild and rapid Holsten, then swollen so as to overflow its banks, and filled with drifting logs, Dr. Taylor returned to the Hotel he had left, just in time to meet the bereaved survivors of the little band, who, having faithfully rendered every duty to their beloved associate, were now pursuing the mission with a deepened sense of the sacredness of the trust reposed in them. As they retraced their course, the absence of the venerable form of William Forster was quickly noticed at their former stopping places,—the colored people especially, to whom he had been kind and sympathetic, asking with much interest “Where is the old gentleman?”

The subsequent course of the survivors of the deputation in their complete discharge of the duty assigned to them, we do not propose to narrate. Our readers expected of us a succinct narrative of one in whose memory American philanthropists have so sacred an ownership. We have felt the justice of the demand, and have therefore extended our notice beyond our original intention, whilst we have constantly been reminded of the necessity of restricting our pen, and that from another quarter a worthier memorial ought to emanate.

Would that it were in our power to impress the lesson which such a life and such a death is calculated to convey. We know not that we can more effectually do so, or more appropriately close our memoir, than by transcribing the following passage from a letter written by William Forster's son to the cherished friend of his honoured father.

“It is impossible not to feel that my Father has been allowed to fall a martyr to his devotion to that great and holy cause of abolition of Negro Slavery, in the earnest untiring advocacy of which so large a portion of his life has from time to time been spent; and I cannot but believe that his thus dying, in one of your Slave States, will encourage American Friends more and more to devote themselves to this cause, in a *like spirit*, and with a willingness to make a *like sacrifice*. I feel deeply how unworthy I am in every respect to speak in his name, but dost not thou believe, my dear friend, that if all the true Friends in America could feel it their duty to aim at being abolitionists, *such as he was*, full of christian love and pity to the slave owner, as well as slave, slavery would not long remain in your land? I have studied for a long time this question of American Slavery as closely as I can, and I feel sure that it is such abolitionism as this, and this alone, that will be effectual.”

DECEASE OF NATHAN C. HOAG.—This beloved Friend, and honored father in the Church, died 11th mo. 26th, 1854, at the residence of his son-in-law, near Carthage, Indiana, in the

70th year of his age, his mortal life, which from a very early age had been devoted to the Christian Ministry, being closed in that perfect peace which comes only from God, and which is given only to the sincere disciple of Christ. Deeply affecting is it to consider that his manly and venerable form,—his eye which beamed with benignity,—his “pleasant smile of greeting,”—his voice which gave utterance to words “few and savory,” fraught with wisdom and with religious life,—shall gladden us never again, and that we shall no more be instructed by witnessing his simplicity, his unfeigned humility, his paternal love, his godly demeanor, which evinced that he was “bearing about in his body the dying of the Lord Jesus.” Yet the impressive solemnity with which, in many a circle, the announcement of his departure is received, is a token that “he being dead yet speaketh.” May HE at whose bidding and in whose holy fear our beloved friend so faithfully labored, bless the work and the example to many souls, and raise up unto Himself many other faithful laborers.

With what joyful congratulation may we hail the enfranchisement from bonds of that pure and ransomed spirit!

“But woe for us who linger still,
With feebler strength and minds less lowly,
And hearts less steadfast to the will
Of Him, whose every work is holy.
For not like his is purified,
The spirit of our human pride,
And at the bondman's tale of woe,
And for the outcast and forsaken,
Not warm like his, but cold and slow,
Our weaker sympathies awaken.”

It has not been our practice to assign a department of this Journal to obituaries, but NATHAN C. HOAG was a conscientious upholder of the phase of anti-slavery testimony, the advocacy of which has been the paramount design of the Non-Slaveholder.

Those who knew and could appreciate him, will agree with us, that “a Prince and a great man” is taken from Israel. His greatness as a Gospel minister did not consist in bursts of popular eloquence, but in the weightiness of his spirit, in his advancement in knowledge of divine things, and most of all in the holy anointing, without which, and beyond which, he dared not to speak in the name of the Most High. His preaching was characterized by depth, weight, condensation, simplicity and brevity—and his life was a continuous sermon, for *he acted out christianity*.

ANTI-SLAVERY MISSION IN PORTUGAL.

In the last volume of the Non-Slaveholder we mentioned the presentation, in 1852, in Portugal, by John Candler and R. W. Fox, of the Address of the Society of Friends to Sovereigns, &c. This was the only European Government to which the document was delivered without our friend Wm. Forster being one of the delegation. We were favored with a letter from John Can-

dler immediately upon his return, which, had we been at liberty to do so, we would gladly have given to our readers. Now, however, that this noble mission of christian philanthropy has been completely finished, and final reports have been made by the several deputations to the religious Body by which they were appointed, there can, as we conceive, be no departure from propriety in giving some extracts from the letter, and it may be profitable to show how remarkably way was made for the performance of a righteous undertaking. Without doubt the history of the mission in each of the European Nations would be equally interesting. To our mind, the whole movement,—in Europe, in Brazil, and in the United States, impressively shows how much better occupation Christians may find, than sectarian jangling upon points respecting which they might safely “agree to differ;” and we are brought to crave for ourselves and for our fellow professors that *great mindedness*, which, heartily recognizing the brotherhood of man as consequent upon the fatherhood of God, can seek to promote the true well being of every portion of the human family.

*Oak Tree Cottage, Near Chelmsford,
5th Mo. 8th, 1852.*

Before we left England, I went with Samuel Gurney and Josiah Forster to call on the Earl of Malmesbury, our Minister for Foreign Affairs, and received from him a very handsome letter of introduction to our Ambassador, at Lisbon. We also called on Count Livaradio, the Portuguese Minister of Legation in London, who, with great cordiality, gave us letters of commendation to his political friends in that city. Thus furnished, we made early calls on the Duke of Saldanha, and his colleagues in the Portuguese cabinet, and were received by them all in the kindest manner. My friend and companion, R. W. Fox, has long been connected as Consul with Spain and Portugal, and was received by many persons of distinction, with the familiarity of an old friend. The Queen sent for a copy of the address which we proposed to present to her, and fixed the day and hour for our reception. On arriving at the Palace, we were conducted to the hall of waiting. Whilst we remained there, and were conversing with two of the Queen's Ministers, the King consort entered the room, and engaged in earnest conversation with a gentleman, who kissed his hand at parting, and three of the princes, fine English like looking youths, also entered and passed through, who were saluted in the same manner by the Secretary of State. Almost as soon as the King had passed on to the hall of audience, the Minister of the Interior bade us follow him. We had been told that we were at liberty verbally, to address the Queen in the French language on presenting the address. The Queen stood in the middle of the room, the King Consort on her left hand, and her Minister on

the right. On approaching the Queen, I ventured to say a few words.

* “*La Reine, veut-elle avoir la bonté de nous permettre, en peu de mots, d'exprimer la cause de notre arrivée dans son royaume. Nous, c'est-à-dire mon ami et moi sommes membres de la Société religieuse des Amis en Angleterre. Cette société nous a confiée une adresse à l'égard de l'Esclavage et de la Traite des Nègres, pour la présenter à la Reine de Portugal. La Reine, veut-elle avoir la condescendance de la recevoir de nos mains ?*”

As I spoke the last words, the Queen kindly gave an intimation of assent, and, extending her hand, received the parchment, which she gave almost immediately to her Foreign Minister.—The King then advanced a few steps, and addressed us in good English, deliberately spoken. “We are glad to see you in Portugal; we had heard of your coming by the Count Lavaradio: your object is a good one: every one who has a feeling heart, must feel it to be so. You desire the overthrow of Slavery; so do we; but there are difficulties in the way of getting rid of it in Portugal, as in other countries.” My friend R. W. Fox admitted this, but stated the desire we felt that these difficulties should be overcome. England, he said, desired to see an end to Slavery everywhere, and the Society of Friends in that country felt the burden so strongly, that it had sent an address on the subject to almost all the Courts of Europe. The King again acknowledged the correctness of our views; and then after speaking a few kind sentences in reference to my friend R. W. Fox and his family, as Consuls for the Kingdom, and highly respected, gave us to understand that we were at liberty to withdraw. The Queen, and herself continued standing till we had left the hall. As soon as we had passed the curtain which separated this room from the hall of waiting, the Minister of the Interior came out to us, shook us cordially by the hand, and desired us to fix our own day to dine with him. Thus our reception at Court ended, but not our work. We were engaged in procuring a translation into Portuguese of the Address we brought out, of which 600 copies were printed at the National Press, for distribution in Portugal. The government also allowed it to be published in the “*Diario do Governo*,” their official daily Gazette, which has a wide circulation in Lisbon and the provinces, and also in Brazil. Some of these addresses we distributed with our own hands, and called on the several Ministers of State, the Pope's Nuncio, the Cardinal Patriarch, and other persons of influence. We placed in envelopes, and sealed

* “Will the Queen have the goodness to permit us to express a few words, to explain the cause of our arrival in her kingdom. We, that is to say, my friend and myself, are members of the Society of Friends in England. That Society has confided to us an address respecting Slavery and the trade in Negroes, to present to the Queen of Portugal. Will the Queen condescend to receive it from our hands?”

and directed with our hands, copies of the Address, to each member of the House of Peers, and the Chamber of Deputies, to the Counsellors of State and some of the Merchants, and left a number of them with some English friends at Lisbon, to be forwarded to Oporto, to the University of Coimbra, and other places. What is better than all, and for which we are truly thankful, we received a promise from almost all the members of the Government, that they will, in good faith, accelerate the passage, through the Cortes, of a law, declaring all children who may be born hereafter entirely free, and declaring also, that every slave from other countries who touches the soil of Portugal in any of her colonies, shall *ipso facto*, become free. I say, every slave, yet some slight exceptions, specified by law, will be permitted, but these exceptions will serve to strengthen the law itself. Portugal has, on the coasts of Africa, and in the Cape de Verd Islands, and in Asia, 270,000 slaves. The extinction of slavery in the Portuguese dominions is likely to be gradual. This is the first step, and others may follow. All slaves are to be registered, in order that the provisions of the law may be faithfully carried into effect, and no evasion permitted. Before we left Lisbon, we received hospitalities of no common kind. At the dinner table of the Minister of the State, we met the President of the Chamber of Deputies, and many persons connected with the Administration. Our conversation was in French and English. We dined also with the British Ambassador and the *attache* of the Legation, where we met with individuals whom we were glad to see, and among them, the Viscount Sa Bardevia, an early, long tried, and faithful abolitionist.—Having expressed our intention, to a Portuguese merchant, to visit the town of St. Ubes, about 20 miles from Lisbon—a sea port containing 20,000 inhabitants, he said very kindly,—“You must not go to a tavern. My brother has a country house near the town, which is at your service: you must lodge there,” and this individual, to whom we were quite strangers, not only placed this house at our disposal, but sent two of his men-servants to provide for us. For three days, my friend R. W. Fox, his daughter and niece, who accompanied him and myself, were lodged and entertained at this mansion *without cost*, and allowed the privilege of walking in its magnificent orange groves, and the gathering of its golden fruit as much as we pleased! The English merchants at Lisbon, were also very kind to us. How strange it seems, that “Friends,” whose manners are so different from those of other people, should meet with such a cordial reception everywhere. But Count Lavaradio, who knew Wm. Allen, Elizabeth Fry, and perhaps Stephen Grellet, and who had met them abroad, explained the mystery. “I feel attached to your friends: I love their simplicity.” May it be our concern so to live in the divine fear, that we may let none of our christian testimonies fall to the ground, and we need not doubt that way will be made for us in the prosecution of every duty. I must not forget to tell thee that Portugal is a lovely country.

“It is, indeed, a goodly sight to see
What Heaven hath done for this delicious land.”

Whilst our address was in the hands of the printer, and our work had some intermission, we went to Cintra to visit that far famed region. The Cintra hills are wonderful for variety and beauty, and the prospects from them extensive. The scenery has not the rich tropical warmth of the West Indies, but is very fine. Mounted on Donkeys, we ascended the mountains and rode through the glen, and could say with devout admiration, in the language of Cowper, “My father made them all.” It was quite a refreshment to us to leave Lisbon for a day or two to breathe such an atmosphere, and to see such sights. * * * Thy affectionate friend,
JOHN CANDELER.

George W. Taylor, our publisher, has on hand and for sale a few sets of the Non-Slaverholder, Vol. 1 and 2 of the series now brought to a conclusion, at the low price of \$1.00 for the two volumes in one, neatly bound in boards. Vol. 2 contains an original Memoir (not elsewhere obtainable) of Amelia Opie—also the Biographical Sketches of William Forster and Juan Placido,—with other articles valuable for future reference.

We propose to hand over to the *Citizen* for his judgment favors from Correspondents which have reached us since this No. was in form. One important communication remained for weeks in possession of the person thro’ whom it was sent.

ACT OUT YOUR PRINCIPLES.—As a parting word to such of our readers, as have given their assent to the doctrines of the Non-Slaverholder, we wish to remind them that the value of a principle consists in its application, and that correct thinking should bear fruit in correct acting. At the Free Produce Store in Philadelphia, you can be supplied with a variety of Free Dry Goods and Groceries, and as the new Factory will in a few days be in operation, and as our friend Geo. W. Taylor has completed better arrangements in England for the manufacture of the finer fabrics, his Spring supply is likely to be attractive. Merchants and others at a distance can be supplied either by mail or by express with samples and patterns. Those who are in the vicinity, will, we trust, make it a matter of duty to patronize an establishment so important. To submit to a little inconvenience for the sake of making your purchases at this Store of all articles obtainable there, is a small sacrifice at the shrine of Principle. To do so, would exhibit a *fidelity* creditable to the individual, and highly beneficial to the Free Labor Cause.



